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TRUTH TRIUMPHANT,

THROUGH THE

SPIRITUAL WARFARE, CHRISTIAN LABOURS, AND WRITINGS,

OF THAT

ABLE AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST,

ROBERT BARCLAY.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

An Account of his Life and Writings.

He being dead, yet speaketh—Heb. xi. 4.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

REPUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN C. STANTON.

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE MEDICO-CHIRURGICAL REVIEW.

NEW-YORK.

1831.

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AN

APOLOGY

FOR THE

TRUE CHRISTIAN DIVINITY,

AS THE SAME IS HELD FORTH AND PREACHED BY THE PEOPLE CALLED IN SCORN QUAKERS:

Being a full Explanation and Vindication of their Principles and Doctrines, by many Arguments deduced from Scripture and right reason, and the Testimony of FAMOUS AUTHORS, both Ancient and Modern, with a full answer to the strongest objections made against them:

PRESENTED TO THE KING.

Written and published in Latin and English,

BY ROBERT BARCLAY,

AND SINCE TRANSLATED INTO HIGH DUTCH, LOW DUTCH, FRENCH, AND SPANISH,

For the Information of Strangers.

Acts xxiv. 14. "After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers; believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets."

Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14. "For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."

1 Thess. v. 21. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

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1831.

TO

CHARLES II.

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN,

AND

THE DOMINIONS THEREUNTO BELONGING:

ROBERT BARCLAY,

A servant of Jesus Christ, called of God to the Dispensation of the Gospel now again revealed, and, after a long and dark night of Apostacy, commanded to be preached to all nations, wisheth health and salvation.

As the condition of kings and princes placeth them in a station more obvious to the view and observation of the world, than that of other men, of whom, as *Cicero* observes, neither any word or action can be obscure; so are those kings, during whose appearance upon the stage of this world it pleaseth the Great King of kings singularly to make known unto men the wonderful steps of his *unsearchable providence*, more signally observed, and their lives and actions more diligently remarked, and inquired into by posterity; especially if those things be such as not only relate to the outward transactions of this world, but also are signalized by the manifestation or revelation of the knowledge of God in matters spiri-

ual and religious. These are the things that rendered the lives of *Cyrus*, *Augustus Cæsar*, and *Constantine* the Great in former times, and of *Charles* the Fifth, and some other modern princes in these last ages, so considerable.

But among all the transactions which it hath pleased God to permit, for the glory of his power, and the manifestation of his wisdom and providence, no age furnisheth us with things so *strange* and *marvellous*, whether with respect to matters civil or religious, as these that have fallen out within the compass of thy time; who, though thou be not yet arrived at the fiftieth year of thy age, hast yet been a witness of stranger things than many ages before produced. So that whether we respect those various troubles wherein thou foundest thyself engaged while scarce got out of thy infancy; the many different afflictions wherewith men of thy circumstances are often unacquainted; the strange and unparalleled fortune that befel thy father; thy own narrow escape, and banishment following thereupon, with the great improbability of thy ever returning, at least without very much pains and tedious combatings; or finally the incapacity thou wert under to accomplish such a design, considering the strength of those that had possessed themselves of thy throne, and the terror they had inflicted upon foreign states; and yet that, after all this, thou shouldest be restored without stroke of sword, the help or assistance of foreign states, or the contrivance and work of human policy; all these do sufficiently declare that it is the *Lord's doing*; which, as it is marvellous in our eyes, so it will justly be a matter of wonder and astonishment to generations to come; and may sufficiently serve, if rightly observed, to confute and confound that *Atheism* wherewith this age doth so much abound.

As the vindication of the *liberty of conscience* (which thy father, by giving way to the importunate clamours of the *clergy*, the answering and fulfilling of whose unrighteous wills has often proved hurtful and pernicious to princes, sought in some part to restrain) was a great occasion of those troubles and revolutions; so the pretence of *conscience* was that which carried it on, and brought it to that pitch it came to. And though no doubt some that were engaged in that work designed good things, at least in the beginning, albeit always wrong in the manner they took to accomplish it, *viz.* by carnal weapons; yet so soon as they had tasted the sweets of the possessions of them they had turned out, they quickly began to do those things themselves for which they had accused others. For their hands were found full of oppression, and *they hated the reproof of instruction, which is the way of life;* and they evilly entreated the messengers of the Lord, and caused his prophets to be beaten and imprisoned, and persecuted his people, whom he had called and gathered out from among them, whom he had made to beat their *swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks*, and not to learn *carnal war* any more: but he raised them up, and armed them with *spiritual weapons*, even with his own Spirit and power, whereby they testified in the streets and highways, and public markets and synagogues, against the *pride*, *vanity*, *lusts*, and *hypocrisy* of that generation, who were righteous in their own eyes, though often cruelly entreated therefor: and they faithfully prophesied and foretold them of their judgment and downfal, which came upon them, as by several warnings and epistles delivered to *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwell*, the *parliament*, and other then *powers*, yet upon record, doth appear.

And after it pleased God to restore thee, what oppressions, what banishments, and evil entreatings they have met with, by men pretending thy authority, and cloaking their mischief with thy name, is known to most men in this island; especially in *England*, where there is scarce a prison that hath not been filled with them, nor a judge before whom they have not been haled; *though they could never yet be found guilty* of any thing that might deserve that usage. Therefore the sense of their innocency did no doubt greatly contribute to move thee, three years ago, to cause some hundreds of them to be set at liberty: for indeed their sufferings are singular, and obviously distinguishable from all the rest of such as live under thee in these two respects.

First, *In that among all the plots contrived by others against thee since thy return into* Britain, *there was never any, owned of that people, found or known to be guilty*, (though many of them have been taken and imprisoned upon such kind of jealousies,) *but were always found innocent and harmless*, as became the followers of Christ; *not coveting after, nor contending for, the kingdoms of this world, but subject to every ordinance of man, for conscience' sake.*

Secondly, *In that in the hottest times of persecution, and the most violent prosecution of those laws made against meetings*, being clothed with innocency, *they have boldly stood to their testimony for God, without creeping into holes or corners, or once hiding themselves*, as all other Dissenters have done; *but daily met, according to their custom, in the public places appointed for that end;* so that none of thy officers can say of them, *that they have surprised them in a corner, overtaken them in a private conventicle, or catched them lurking in their secret chambers; nor needed they to send out spies to get them, whom they were sure daily to find in their open assemblies, testifying for God and his truth.*

By which those who have an eye to see, may observe their Christian patience and courage, constancy and suffering joined in one, more than in any other people that differ from them, or oppose them. And yet, in the midst of those troubles, thou canst bear witness, that as on the one part they never sought to detract from thee, or to render thee and thy government odious to the people, by nameless and scandalous pamphlets and libels; so on the other hand they have not spared to admonish, exhort, and reprove thee; and have faithfully discharged their consciences towards thee, without flattering words, as ever the true prophets in ancient times used to do to those kings and princes, under whose power violence and oppression was acted.

And although it is evident by experience to be most agreeable both to divine truth and human policy, to allow every one to serve God according to their consciences, nevertheless those other sects, who for the most part durst not peep out in the times of persecution, while these innocent people stood bold and faithful, do now combine in a joint confederacy, notwithstanding all the former janglings and contentions among themselves, to render us odious; seeking unjustly to wrest our doctrine and words, as if they were both inconsistent with Christianity and civil society: so that to effectuate this their work of malice against us, they have not been ashamed to take the help, and commend the labours, of some invidious *Socinians* against us. So do *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate* agree to crucify Christ.

But our practice, known to thee by good experience to be more consistent with Christianity and civil society, and the peace and welfare of this island, than that of those who thus accuse us, doth sufficiently guard us against this calumny; and

we may indeed appeal to the testimony of thy conscience, as a witness for us in the face of the nations.

These things moved me to present the world with a brief, but true account of this people's principles, in some short *theological propositions;* which, according to the will of God, proving successful, beyond my expectation, to the satisfaction of several, and to the exciting in many a desire of being farther informed concerning us, as being every where evil spoken of; and likewise meeting with public opposition by some, as such will always do, so long as the *devil rules in the children of disobedience;* I was thereby farther engaged, in the liberty of the Lord, to present to the world this *apology* of the truth held by those people: which, because of thy interest in them, and theirs in thee, as having first appeared, and mostly increased, in these nations under thy rule, I make bold to present unto thee.

Thou knowest, and hast experienced *their faithfulness towards their God, their patience in suffering, their peaceableness towards the king, their honesty, plainness and integrity in their faithful warnings and testimonies to thee;* and if thou wilt allow thyself so much time as to read this, thou mayest find *how consonant their principles are both to scripture, truth, and right reason.* The simplicity of their behaviour, the generality of their condition, as being poor men and illiterate; the manner of their procedure, being without the wisdom and policy of this world; hath made many conclude them fools and madmen, and neglect them, as not being capable of reason. But though it be to them as their crown, thus to be esteemed of the wise, the great, and learned of this world, and though they rejoice to be accounted fools for Christ's sake; yet of late some, even such who in the world's

account are esteemed both wise and learned, begin to judge otherwise of them, and find that they hold forth things very agreeable both to scripture, reason, and true learning.

As it is inconsistent with the truth I bear, so it is far from me to use this epistle as an *engine* to *flatter* thee, the usual design of such works; and therefore I can neither dedicate it to thee, nor crave thy patronage, as if thereby I might have more confidence to present it to the world, or be more hopeful of its success. To God alone I owe what I have, and that more immediately in matters spiritual; and therefore to him alone, and to the service of his truth, I dedicate whatever work he brings forth in me; to whom only the praise and honour appertain, whose truth needs not the patronage of worldly princes; his arm and power being that alone by which it is propagated, established, and confirmed. But I found it upon my spirit to take occasion to present this book unto thee; that as thou hast been often warned by several of that people, who are inhabitants of *England;* so thou mayest not want a seasonable advertisement from a member of thy ancient kingdom of *Scotland;* and that thou mayest know, which I hope thou wilt have no reason to be troubled at, that God is raising up and increasing that people in this nation. And the nations shall also hereby know, that the *truth* we profess is not a work of darkness, nor propagated by stealth; and that we are not ashamed of the *gospel of Christ*, because we know it to be *the power of God unto salvation;* and that we are no ways so inconsistent with government, nor such disturbers of the peace, as our enemies, by traducing us, have sought to make the world believe we are: for which to thee I dare appeal, as a witness of our peaceableness and Christian patience.

Generations to come shall not more admire that singular step of Divine Providence, in restoring thee to thy throne, without outward bloodshed, than they shall admire the increase and progress of this *truth*, without all outward help, and against so great opposition; which shall be none of the least things rendering thy *memory* remarkable. God hath done great things for thee; he hath sufficiently shown thee, that it is *by him princes rule*, and that *he can pull down and set up at his pleasure*. He hath often faithfully warned thee by his servants, since he restored thee to thy *royal dignity*, that thy heart might not wax wanton against him, to forget his mercies and providences towards thee; whereby he might permit thee to be soothed up, and lulled asleep in thy sins, by the flattering of *court-parasites*, who, by their fawning, are the *ruin* of many *princes*.

There is no king in the world, who can so experimentally testify of God's providence and goodness; neither is there any who rules so many free people, so many true Christians: which thing renders thy government more honourable, thyself more considerable, than the accession of many nations, filled with slavish and superstitious souls.

Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be over-ruled, as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne; and being *oppressed*, thou hast reason to know how *hateful* the *oppressor* is both to God and man: If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him, who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity; surely great will be thy condemnation.

Against which snare as well as the temptation of those that may or do feed thee, and prompt

thee to evil, the most excellent and prevalent remedy will be, to apply thyself to that *Light of Christ*, which *shineth in thy conscience*, which neither can nor will flatter thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy sins; but doth and will deal plainly and faithfully with thee, as those that are followers thereof have also done.

GOD Almighty, who hath so signally hitherto visited thee with his love, so touch and reach thy heart, ere the day of thy visitation be expired, that thou mayest effectually turn to him, so as to improve thy place and station for his name. So wisheth, so prayeth,

Thy faithful friend and subject,

ROBERT BARCLAY.

From *Ury*, in my native country of *Scotland*, the 25th of the month called *November*, in the year MDCLXXV.

R. B. *Unto the Friendly Reader wisheth Salvation.*

Forasmuch as that, which above all things I propose to myself, is to declare and defend the *truth*, for the service whereof I have given up and devoted myself, and all that is mine; therefore there is nothing which for its sake (by the help and assistance of God) I may not attempt. And in this confidence, I did some time ago publish certain propositions of divinity, comprehending briefly the chief principles and doctrines of *truth*; which appearing not unprofitable to some, and being beyond my expectation well received by many, though also opposed by some envious ones, did so far prevail, as in some part to remove that false and monstrous opinion, which lying fame, and the malice of our adversaries, had implanted in the minds of some, concerning us and our doctrines.

In this respect it seemed to me not fit to spare my pains and labour; and therefore, being actuated by the same Divine Spirit, and the like intention of propagating the truth, by which I published the propositions themselves, I judged it meet to explain them somewhat more largely at this time, and defend them by certain arguments.

Perhaps my method of writing may seem not only different, but even contrary, to that which is commonly used by the men called *divines*, with which I am not concerned: inasmuch as I confess myself to be not only no imitator and admirer of the *school-men*, but an opposer and despiser of them as such, by whose labour I judge the *Christian religion* to be so far from being bettered, that it is rather destroyed. Neither have I sought to accommodate this my work to itching ears, who desire rather to comprehend in their heads the sublime notions of truth, than to embrace it in their hearts: for what I have written comes more from my

heart than from my head; what I have heard with the ears of my soul, and seen with my inward eyes, and my hands have handled of the *Word of Life*, and what hath been inwardly manifested to me of the things of God, that do I declare; not so much regarding the eloquence and excellency of speech, as desiring to demonstrate the efficacy and operation of truth; and if I err sometimes in the former, it is no great matter; for I act not here the *Grammarian*, or the *Orator*, but the *Christian;* and therefore in this I have followed the certain rule of the *Divine Light*, and of the *Holy Scriptures*.

And to make an end; what I have written, is written not to feed the *wisdom* and *knowledge*, or rather *vain pride of this world*, but to starve and oppose it, as the little preface prefixed to the *propositions* doth show; which, with the title of them, is as followeth.

THESES THEOLOGICÆ.

TO

THE CLERGY,

OF WHAT SORT SOEVER,

UNTO WHOSE HANDS THESE MAY COME;

BUT MORE PARTICULARLY

To the Doctors, Professors, and Students of Divinity in the Universities and Schools of Great Britain, whether Prelatical, Presbyterian, or any other;

ROBERT BARCLAY,

A Servant of the Lord God, and one of those who in derision are called Quakers, wisheth unfeigned Repentance, unto the Acknowledgment of the Truth.

FRIENDS,

UNTO you these following propositions are offered; in which, they being read and considered in the fear of the Lord, you may perceive that simple, naked truth, which man by his wisdom hath rendered so obscure and mysterious, that the world is even burthened with the great and voluminous tractates which are made about it, and by their vain jangling and commentaries, by which it is rendered a hundred-fold more dark and intricate than of itself it is: which great learning, (so accounted of,) to wit, your *school-divinity*, (which taketh up almost a man's whole life-time

to learn,) brings not a whit nearer to God, neither makes any man less wicked, or more righteous than he was. Therefore hath God laid aside the wise and learned, and the disputers of this world; and hath chosen a few despicable and unlearned instruments, (as to letter-learning,) as he did fishermen of old, to publish his pure and naked *truth*, and to free it of those mists and fogs wherewith the *clergy* hath clouded it, that the people might admire and maintain them. And among several others, whom God hath chosen to make known these things, (seeing I also have received, in measure, grace to be a dispenser of the same Gospel,) it seemed good unto me, according to my duty, to offer unto you these *propositions;* which, though short, yet are weighty, comprehending much, and declaring what the true ground of knowledge is, even of that knowledge which leads to *Life Eternal;* which is here witnessed of, and the testimony thereof left unto the *Light of Christ* in all your consciences.

Farewell.

R. B.

THE FIRST PROPOSITION.

Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge.

Seeing the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God, (*This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent,*) the true and right understanding of this foundation and ground of knowledge, is that which is most necessary to be known and believed in the first place. John xvii. 3.

THE SECOND PROPOSITION.

Concerning Immediate Revelation.

Seeing *no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him;* and seeing *the revelation of the Son is in and by the Spirit;* therefore the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be only revealed; who as, by the moving of his own Spirit, he converted the *chaos* of this world into that wonderful order wherein it was in the beginning, and created man a living soul, to rule and govern it, so by the revelation of the same Spirit he hath manifested himself all along unto the sons of men, both patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; which revelations of God by the Spirit, whether by outward voices, and appearances, dreams, or inward *objective manifestations in the heart,* were of old the *formal object* of their faith, and remain yet so to be; *since the object of the saints' faith is the same in all ages,* though set forth under divers administrations. Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can ever contradict the outward testimony, of the scrip- Mat. xi. 27.

tures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination, either of the outward testimony of the scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule or touchstone: for this divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto; even as the common principles of natural *truths* move and incline the mind to a natural assent: as, that *the whole is greater than its part;* that *two contradictory sayings cannot be both true, nor both false;* which is also manifest, according to our adversaries' principle, who (supposing the possibility of inward divine revelations) will nevertheless confess with us, that neither scripture nor sound reason will contradict it: and yet it will not follow, according to them, that the scripture, or sound reason, should be subjected to the examination of the divine revelations in the heart.

THE THIRD PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Scriptures.

From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints, have proceeded the scriptures of truth, which contain, 1. A faithful historical account of the actings of God's people in divers ages, with many singular and remarkable providences attending them. 2. A prophetical account of several things, whereof some are already past, and some yet to come. 3. A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and sentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at several times, and upon

sundry occasions, spoken and written unto some churches and their pastors: nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the *fountain*, and not the *fountain* itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the *adequate primary rule* of *faith and manners*. Nevertheless, as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a *secondary rule*, *subordinate* to the *Spirit*, from which they have all their excellency and certainty; for as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify, that the Spirit is that guide by which the saints are led into *all truth*: *therefore*, according to the scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal leader. And seeing we do therefore receive and believe the scriptures, because they proceeded from the Spirit; therefore also the Spirit is more originally and principally the rule, according to that received maxim in the schools. *Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale.* Englished thus: *That for which a thing is such, that thing itself is more such.*

John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 14.

THE FOURTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Condition of Man in the Fall.

All *Adam's* posterity (or mankind) both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as to the first *Adam* or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated, and dead, deprived of the sensation or feeling of this inward testimony or *seed of God*, and is subject unto the power, nature, and seed of the serpent, which he sows in men's hearts, while they abide in this natural and corrupted state; from whence it comes, that not their words and deeds only, but all their imaginations are evil perpetually in the sight of God, as proceeding from this depraved and wicked seed.

Rom. v. 12, 15.

Generations to come shall not more admire that singular step of Divine Providence, in restoring thee to thy throne, without outward bloodshed, than they shall admire the increase and progress of this *truth*, without all outward help, and against so great opposition; which shall be none of the least things rendering thy *memory* remarkable. God hath done great things for thee; he hath sufficiently shown thee, that it is *by him princes rule*, and that *he can pull down and set up at his pleasure*. He hath often faithfully warned thee by his servants, since he restored thee to thy *royal dignity*, that thy heart might not wax wanton against him, to forget his mercies and providences towards thee; whereby he might permit thee to be soothed up, and lulled asleep in thy sins, by the flattering of *court-parasites*, who, by their fawning, are the *ruin* of many *princes*.

There is no king in the world, who can so experimentally testify of God's providence and goodness; neither is there any who rules so many free people, so many true Christians: which thing renders thy government more honourable, thyself more considerable, than the accession of many nations, filled with slavish and superstitious souls.

Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be over-ruled, as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne; and being *oppressed*, thou hast reason to know how *hateful* the *oppressor* is both to God and man: If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him, who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity; surely great will be thy condemnation.

Against which snare as well as the temptation of those that may or do feed thee, and prompt

THE SIXTH PROPOSITION.

According to which principle (or *hypothesis*) all the objections against the universality of Christ's death are easily solved; neither is it needful to recur to the ministry of angels, and those other miraculous means, which, they say, God makes use of, to manifest the doctrine and history of Christ's passion, unto such who (living in those places of the world where the outward preaching of the gospel is unknown) have well improved the first and common grace; for hence it well follows, that as some of the old philosophers might have been saved, so also may now some (who by providence are cast into those remote parts of the world, where the knowledge of the history is wanting) be made partakers of the divine mystery, if they receive and resist not that grace, *a manifestation whereof is given to every man to profit withal.* This certain doctrine then being received (*to wit*) that there is an evangelical and saving light and grace in all, the universality of the love and mercy of God towards mankind (both in the death of his beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the manifestation of the light in the heart) is established and confirmed against all the objections of such as deny it. Therefore *Christ hath tasted death for every man;* not only *for all kinds of men*, as some vainly talk, but *for every one, of all kinds;* the benefit of whose offering is not only extended to such, who have the distinct outward knowledge of his death and sufferings, as the same is declared in the scriptures, but even unto those who are necessarily excluded from the benefit of this knowledge by some inevitable accident; which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such, from whom God himself hath with-held it; yet they may be made

1 Cor. xii. 7.

Heb. ii. 9.

partakers of the mystery of his death (though ignorant of the history) if they suffer his seed and light (enlightening their hearts) to take place (in which light, communion with the Father and Son is enjoyed) so as of wicked men to become holy, and lovers of that power, by whose inward and secret touches they feel themselves turned from the evil to the good, and learn *to do to others as they would be done by;* in which Christ himself affirms all to be included. As they then have falsely and erroneously taught, who have denied Christ to have died for all men; so neither have they sufficiently taught the truth, who affirming him to have died for all, have added the absolute necessity of the outward knowledge thereof, in order to the obtaining its saving effect; among whom the *Remonstrants of Holland* have been chiefly wanting, and many other assertors of *Universal Redemption*, in that they have not placed the extent of this salvation in that divine and evangelical principle of light and life, wherewith Christ hath enlightened every man that comes into the world, which is excellently and evidently held forth in these scriptures, *Gen.* vi. 3. *Deut.* xxx. 14. *John* i. 7, 8, 9. *Rom.* x. 8. *Tit.* ii. 11.

THE SEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Justification.

As many as resist not this light, but receive the same, in them is produced an holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all these other blessed fruits which are acceptable to God; by which holy birth (to wit, *Jesus Christ* formed within us, and working his works in us) as we are sanctified, so are we justified in the sight of God, according to the apostle's words,
1Cor.vi.11. *But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are*

R. B. *Unto the Friendly Reader wisheth Salvation.*

Forasmuch as that, which above all things I propose to myself, is to declare and defend the *truth*, for the service whereof I have given up and devoted myself, and all that is mine; therefore there is nothing which for its sake (by the help and assistance of God) I may not attempt. And in this confidence, I did some time ago publish certain propositions of divinity, comprehending briefly the chief principles and doctrines of *truth;* which appearing not unprofitable to some, and being beyond my expectation well received by many, though also opposed by some envious ones, did so far prevail, as in some part to remove that false and monstrous opinion, which lying fame, and the malice of our adversaries, had implanted in the minds of some, concerning us and our doctrines.

In this respect it seemed to me not fit to spare my pains and labour; and therefore, being actuated by the same Divine Spirit, and the like intention of propagating the truth, by which I published the propositions themselves, I judged it meet to explain them somewhat more largely at this time, and defend them by certain arguments.

Perhaps my method of writing may seem not only different, but even contrary, to that which is commonly used by the men called *divines*, with which I am not concerned: inasmuch as I confess myself to be not only no imitator and admirer of the *school-men*, but an opposer and despiser of them as such, by whose labour I judge the *Christian religion* to be so far from being bettered, that it is rather destroyed. Neither have I sought to accommodate this my work to itching ears, who desire rather to comprehend in their heads the sublime notions of truth, than to embrace it in their hearts: for what I have written comes more from my

heart than from my head; what I have heard with the ears of my soul, and seen with my inward eyes, and my hands have handled of the *Word of Life*, and what hath been inwardly manifested to me of the things of God, that do I declare; not so much regarding the eloquence and excellency of speech, as desiring to demonstrate the efficacy and operation of truth; and if I err sometimes in the former, it is no great matter; for I act not here the *Grammarian*, or the *Orator*, but the *Christian;* and therefore in this I have followed the certain rule of the *Divine Light*, and of the *Holy Scriptures*.

And to make an end; what I have written, is written not to feed the *wisdom* and *knowledge*, or rather *vain pride of this world*, but to starve and oppose it, as the little preface prefixed to the *propositions* doth show; which, with the title of them, is as followeth.

them by those to whom they have communicated spirituals.

THE ELEVENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Worship.

All true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the *inward* and *immediate* moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, or persons; for though we be to worship him always, in that we are to fear before him, yet as to the outward signification thereof in prayers, praises, or preachings, we ought not to do it where and when we will, but where and when we are moved thereunto by the secret inspirations of his Spirit in our hearts, which God heareth and accepteth of, and is never wanting to move us thereunto, when need is, of which he himself is the alone proper judge. All other worship then, both praises, prayers, and preachings, which man sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone as himself sees meet, whether they be a prescribed form, as a liturgy, or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural strength and faculty of the mind, they are *all but* superstitions, will-worship, and abominable idolatry in the sight of God; which are to be denied, rejected, and separated from, in this day of his spiritual arising: however it might have pleased him (who winked at the times of ignorance, with respect to the simplicity and integrity of some, and of his own innocent seed, which lay as it were buried in the hearts of men, under the mass of superstition) to blow upon the dead and dry bones, and to raise some breathings, and answer them, and that until the day should more clearly dawn and break forth.

Ezek. 13. Mat. x. 20 Acts ii. 4. & xviii. 5. John iii. 6 & iv. 21. Jude xix. Acts xvii. 23.

THE TWELFTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Baptism.

Eph. iv. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 21 Rom. vi. 4. Gal. iii. 27. Col. ii. 12. John iii. 30. As there is *one Lord* and *one faith*, so there is *one baptism; which is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.* And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the *baptism* of the *spirit* and *fire*, by which we are *buried with him*, that being washed and purged 1 Cor. i. 17. from our sins, we may *walk in newness of life;* of which the baptism of *John* was a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever. As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the scripture.

THE THIRTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

1 Cor. x 16. 17. The *communion* of the body and blood of Christ is *inward* and *spiritual*, which is the participation John vi. 32, 33, 35. of his flesh and blood, by which the *inward man* 1 Cor. v. 8. is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the *breaking of bread* by Christ with his disciples was a *figure*, which they even used in the church for a time, who had received the substance, for the cause Acts xv. 20. of the weak; even as *abstaining from things strangled and from blood;* the *washing one another's feet;* John xiii. 14. James v. 14 and the *anointing of the sick with oil;* all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are but the *shadows* of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the *substance.*

THE FOURTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in matters purely Religious, and pertaining to the Conscience.

Since God hath assumed to himself the power and dominion of the conscience, who alone can rightly instruct and govern it, therefore it is not lawful for any whatsoever, by virtue of any authority or principality they bear in the government of this world, to force the consciences of others; and therefore all killing, banishing, fining, imprisoning, and other such things, which men are afflicted with, for the alone exercise of their conscience, or difference in worship or opinion, proceedeth from the spirit of *Cain*, the murderer, and is contrary to the truth; provided always, that no man, under the pretence of conscience, prejudice his neighbour in his life or estate; or do any thing destructive to, or inconsistent with human society; in which case the law is for the transgressor, and justice to be administered upon all, without respect of persons.

Luke ix. 55, 56. Mat. vii. 12. 29. Tit. iii 10.

THE FIFTEENTH PROPOSITION.

Concerning Salutations and Recreations, &c.

Seeing the chief end of all religion is to redeem man from the spirit and vain conversation of this world, and to lead into inward communion with God, before whom, if we fear always, we are accounted happy; therefore all the vain customs and habits thereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected and forsaken by those who come to this fear; such as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowings and cringings of the body, and such

Eph. v. 11. 1 Pet. i. 14. John v. 44. Jer. x. 3. Acts x. 26. Mat. xv. 13. Col ii 8

other salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them; all which man has invented in his degenerate state, to feed his pride in the vain pomp and glory of this world; as also the unprofitable plays, frivolous recreations, sportings and gamings, which are invented to pass away the precious time, and divert the mind from the witness of God in the heart, and from the living sense of his fear, and from that evangelical Spirit wherewith Christians ought to be leavened, and which leads into sobriety, gravity, and godly fear; in which, as we abide, the blessing of the Lord is felt to attend us in those actions in which we are necessarily engaged, in order to the taking care for the sustenance of the outward man.

AN

APOLOGY

FOR THE

TRUE CHRISTIAN DIVINITY.

PROPOSITION I.

Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge.

Seeing the height of all happiness is placed in the true knowledge of God, (*This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent,*) the true and right understanding of this foundation and ground of knowledge, is that which is most necessary to be known and believed in the first place. John xvii. 3.

He that desireth to acquire any art or science, seeketh first those means by which that art or science is obtained. If we ought to do so in things natural and earthly, how much more then in spiritual? *In this* affair then should our inquiry be the more diligent, because he that errs in the entrance is not so easily brought back again into the right way; he that misseth his road from the beginning of his journey, and is deceived in his first marks, at his first setting forth, the greater his mistake is, the more difficult will be his entrance into the right way.

The way to the true knowledge of God.

Thus when a man first proposeth to himself the knowledge of God, from a sense of his own unworthiness, and from the great weariness of his mind, occasioned by the secret checks of his con-

science, and the tender, yet real glances of God's *light* upon his heart; the earnest desires he has to be redeemed from his present trouble, and the fervent breathings he has to be eased of his disordered passions and lusts, and to find quietness and peace in the certain knowledge of God, and in the assurance of his love and good-will towards him, make his heart tender, and ready to receive any impression; and so (not having then a distinct discerning) through forwardness embraceth any thing that brings present ease. If either through the reverence he bears to certain persons, or from the secret inclination to what doth comply with his natural disposition, he fall upon any principles or means, by which he apprehends he may come to know God, and so doth centre himself, it will be hard to remove him thence again, how wrong soever they may be: for the first anguish being over, he becomes more hardy; and the enemy being near, creates a false peace, and a certain confidence, which is strengthened by the mind's unwillingness to enter again into new doubtfulness, or the former anxiety of a search.

Jewish Doctors and Pharisees resist Christ.

This is sufficiently verified in the example of the *Pharisees* and *Jewish Doctors*, who most of all resisted *Christ*, disdaining to be esteemed ignorant; for this vain opinion they had of their knowledge hindered them from the true knowledge; and the mean people, who were not so much pre-occupied with former principles, nor conceited of their own knowledge, did easily believe. Wherefore the *Pharisees* upbraid them, saying, *Have any of the Rulers or Pharisees believed on him? But this people, which know not the law, are accursed.* This is also abundantly proved by the experience of all such, as being secretly touched with the call of God's grace unto them, do apply themselves to false teachers, where the remedy proves worse than the disease; because instead of knowing God, or the things relating to

John vii. 48, 49.

their salvation aright, they drink in wrong opinions of him; from which it is harder to be disentangled, than while the soul remains a blank, or *Tabula rasa*. For they that conceit themselves wise, are worse to deal with than they that are sensible of their ignorance. Nor hath it been less the device of the devil, the great enemy of mankind, to persuade men into wrong notions of God, than to keep them altogether from acknowledging him; the latter taking with few, because odious; but the other having been the constant ruin of the world: for there hath scarce been a nation found, but hath had some notions or other of religion; so that not from their denying any Deity, but from their mistakes and misapprehensions of it, hath proceeded all the idolatry and superstition of the world; yea, hence even atheism itself hath proceeded: for these many and various opinions of God and religion, being so much mixed with the guessings and uncertain judgments of men, have begotten in many the opinion, That there is no God at all. This, and much more that might be said, may show how dangerous it is to miss in this first step: *All that come not in by the right door, are* accounted as *thieves and robbers*.

Again, how needful and desirable that knowledge is, which brings *life eternal*, *Epictetus* showeth, saying excellently well, *cap.* 38. ἴθι ὅτι τὸ Κυριώτατον, &c. *Know, that the main foundation of piety is this, to have* ὀρθὰς ὑπολήψεις, *right opinions and apprehensions of God.* Epictetus

This therefore I judged necessary, as a first principle, in the first place, to affirm; and I suppose will not need much farther explanation or defence, as being generally acknowledged by all (and in these things that are without controversy I love to be brief) as that which will easily commend itself to every man's reason and conscience; and therefore I shall proceed to the next proposition; which,

though it be nothing less certain, yet by the malice of satan, and ignorance of many, comes far more under debate.

PROPOSITION II.

Of Immediate Revelation.

Mat. xi. 27. Seeing *no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son revealeth him;* and seeing *the revelation of the Son is* in *and* by *the Spirit;* therefore the testimony of the Spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be only revealed; who as, by the moving of his own Spirit, he disposed the *chaos* of this world into that wonderful order in which it was in the beginning, and created man a living soul, to rule and govern it, so by the revelation of the same Spirit he hath manifested himself all along unto the sons of men, both patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; which revelations of God by the Spirit, whether by outward voices and appearances, dreams, or inward objective manifestations in the heart, were of old the formal object of their faith, and remain yet so to be; since *the object of the saints' faith is the same in all ages, though held forth under divers administrations.* Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can ever contradict the outward testimony of the scriptures, or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the test, either of the outward testimony of the scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule and touchstone; for this divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of

itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto, even as the common principles of natural truths do move and incline the mind to a natural assent: as, *that the whole is greater than its part; that two contradictories can neither be both true, nor both false.*

Revelation rejected by apostate Christians.

§. I. It is very probable, that many carnal and natural Christians will oppose this proposition; who, being wholly unacquainted with the movings and actings of God's Spirit upon their hearts, judge the same nothing necessary; and some are apt to flout at it as ridiculous; yea, to that height are the generality of Christians apostatized and degenerated, that though there be not any thing more plainly asserted, more seriously recommended, or more certainly attested, in all the writings of the holy scriptures, yet nothing is less minded and more rejected by all sorts of Christians, than *immediate and divine revelation*; insomuch that once to lay claim to it is matter of reproach. Whereas of old none were ever judged Christians, but such as *had the Spirit of Christ*, Rom. viii. 9. But now many do boldly call themselves *Christians*, who make no difficulty of confessing they are without it, and laugh at such as say they have it. Of old they were accounted *the sons of God, who were led by the Spirit of God*, ibid. ver. 14. But now many aver themselves sons of God, who know nothing of this leader; and he that affirms himself so led, is, by the pretended orthodox of this age, presently proclaimed a heretic. The reason hereof is very manifest, *viz.* Because many in these days, under the name of *Christians*, do experimentally find, that they are not actuated nor led by God's Spirit; yea, many great *doctors, divines, teachers*, and *bishops* of Christianity, (commonly so called,) have wholly shut their ears from hearing, and

their eyes from seeing, this *inward guide*, and so are become strangers unto it; whence they are, by their own experience, brought to this strait, either to confess that they are as yet ignorant of God, and have only the shadow of *knowledge*, and not the true *knowledge* of him, or that this *knowledge* is acquired without immediate revelation.

Knowledge spiritual and literal distinguished.

For the better understanding then of this proposition, we do distinguish betwixt the certain knowledge of God, and the uncertain; betwixt the spiritual knowledge and the literal; the saving heart-knowledge, and the soaring airy head-knowledge. The last, we confess, may be divers ways obtained; but the first, by no other way than the inward immediate manifestation and revelation of God's Spirit, shining in and upon the heart, enlightening and opening the understanding.

§. II. Having then proposed to myself, in these propositions, to affirm those things which relate to the true and effectual knowledge which brings life eternal with it, therefore I have truly affirmed that this knowledge is no otherways attained, and that none have any true ground to believe they have attained it, who have it not by this revelation of God's Spirit.

The certainty of which truth is such, that it hath been acknowledged by some of the most refined and famous of all sorts of professors of Christianity in all ages; who being truly upright-hearted, and earnest seekers of the Lord, (however stated under the disadvantages and epidemical errors of their several sects or ages,) the true seed in them hath been answered by God's love, who hath had regard to the good, and hath had of his elect ones among all; who finding a distaste and disgust in all other outward means, even in the very principles and precepts more particularly relative to their own forms and societies, have at last concluded, with *one voice*, that there was no true knowledge of God, but that

which is revealed inwardly by his own Spirit. Whereof take these following testimonies of the ancients.

1. "It is the inward master (saith *Augustine*) that teacheth, it is Christ that teacheth, it is inspiration that teacheth: where this inspiration and unction is wanting, it is in vain that words from without are beaten in." And thereafter: "For he that created us, and redeemed us, and called us by faith, and dwelleth in us by his Spirit, unless he speaketh unto us inwardly, it is needless for us to cry out." Aug. ex Tract. Ep. Joh. 3.

2. "There is a difference (saith *Clemens Alexandrinus*) betwixt that which any one saith of the truth, and that which the truth itself, interpreting itself, saith. *A conjecture of* truth differeth from the truth *itself;* a *similitude of* a thing differeth from the thing itself; it is one thing that is acquired by exercise and discipline; and another thing which, by power and faith." Lastly, the same *Clemens* saith, "Truth is neither hard to be arrived at, nor is it impossible to apprehend it; for it is most nigh unto us, even in our houses, as the most wise *Moses* hath insinuated." Clem Alex. l. 1. Strom. Pædag.

3. "How is it (saith *Tertullian*) that since the devil always worketh, and stirreth up the mind to iniquity, that the work of God should either cease, or desist to act? Since for this end the Lord did send the Comforter, that because human weakness could not at once bear all things, knowledge might be by little and little directed, formed, and brought to perfection, by the holy Spirit, that vicar of the Lord. *I have many things yet* (saith he) *to speak unto you, but ye cannot as yet bear them; but when that Spirit of truth shall come, he shall lead you into all truth, and shall teach you these things that are to come.* But of this his work we have spoken above. What is then the administration of the Comforter, but that discipline be directed, and the scriptures revealed? &c." Tertullianus Lib. de veland. Virginibus cap. 1.

4. "The law (saith *Hierom*) is spiritual, and there is need of a revelation to understand it." And in his Hierom. Ep. Paulin. 103.

Epistle 150. to *Hedibia*, Quest. 11. he saith, "The whole Epistle to the Romans needs an interpretation, it being involved in so great obscurities, that for the understanding thereof we need the help of the holy Spirit, who through the apostle dictated it."

Athanasius de Incarn. Verbi Dei.

5. "So great things (saith *Athanasius*) doth our Saviour daily: he draws unto piety, persuades unto virtue, teaches immortality, excites to the desire of heavenly things, reveals the knowledge of the Father, inspires power against death, and shows himself unto every one."

Greg. Mag. Hom. 30. upon the Gospel.

6. *Gregory* the Great, upon these words [*He shall teach you all things*] saith, "That unless the same Spirit is present in the heart of the hearer, in vain is the discourse of the doctor; let no man then ascribe unto the man that teacheth, what he understands from the mouth of him that speaketh; for unless he that teacheth be within, the tongue of the doctor, that is without, laboureth in vain."

Cyril. Alex. in Thesauro lib. 13. c. 3.

7. *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* plainly affirmeth, "That men know that *Jesus is the Lord by the holy Ghost*, no otherwise, than they who taste honey know that it is sweet, even by its proper quality."

Bernard in Psal. 84.

8. "Therefore (saith *Bernard*) we daily exhort you, brethren, that ye walk the ways of the heart, and that your souls be always in your hands, that ye may hear what the Lord saith in you." And again, upon these words of the apostle, [*Let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord,*] "With which threefold vice (saith he) all sorts of religious men are less or more dangerously affected, because they do not so diligently attend, with the ears of the heart, to what the Spirit of truth, which flatters none, inwardly speaks."

This was the very basis, and main foundation, upon which the primitive reformers built.

Luther. tom. 5. p. 76.

Luther, in his book to the nobility of *Germany*, saith, "This is certain, that no man can make himself a teacher of the holy scriptures, but the holy Spirit alone." And upon the *Magnificat* he saith,

"No man can rightly know God, or understand the word of God, unless he immediately receive it from the Holy Spirit; neither can any one receive it from the Holy Spirit, except he find it by experience in himself; and in this experience the Holy Ghost teacheth, as in his proper school; out of which school nothing is taught but mere talk."

Phil. Melancthon.

Philip Melancthon, in his annotations upon *John* vi. "Those who hear only an outward and bodily voice, hear the creature; but *God is a Spirit*, and is neither discerned, nor known, nor heard, but by the Spirit; and therefore to hear the voice of God, to see God, is to know and hear the Spirit. By the Spirit alone God is known and perceived. Which also the more serious to this day do acknowledge, even all such who satisfy themselves not with the superficies of religion, and use it not as a cover or art. Yea, all those who apply themselves effectually to Christianity, and are not satisfied until they have found its effectual work upon their hearts, redeeming them from sin, do feel that no knowledge effectually prevails to the producing of this, but that which proceeds from the warm influence of God's Spirit upon the heart, and from the comfortable shining of his light upon their understanding."

By the Spirit alone God is known.

And therefore to this purpose a modern author, *viz. Dr. Smith* of *Cambridge*, in his select discourses, saith well; "To seek our divinity merely in books and writings, is to seek the living among the dead; we do but in vain many times seek God in these, where his truth is too often not so much enshrined as entombed. *Intra te quære Deum, Seek God within thine own soul.* He is best discerned νοερᾷ ἐπαφῇ (as *Plotinus* phraseth it) by an intellectual touch of him. We must *see with our eyes, and hear with our ears, and our hands must handle the word of life*, (to express it in *St. John's* words,) ἐκ καὶ ψυχῆς αἴσθησις τις, &c. The soul itself hath its sense as well as the body. And there-

Dr. Smith of Cambridge, concerning book divinity.

fore *David*, when he would teach us to know what the divine goodness is, calls not for speculation, but sensation: *Taste, and see how good the Lord is.* That is not the best and truest knowledge of God which is wrought out by the labour and sweat of the brain, but that which is kindled within us, by an heavenly warmth in our hearts." And again: "There is a knowing of the *truth as it is in Jesus*, as it is in a *Christ-like nature;* as it is in that sweet, mild, humble, and loving Spirit of Jesus, which spreads itself, like a *morning sun*, upon the souls of good men, full of light and life. It profits little to know Christ himself after the flesh; but he gives his Spirit to good men, *that searcheth the deep things of God.*" And again: "It is but a thin airy knowledge that is got by mere speculation, which is ushered in by syllogisms and demonstrations; but that which springs forth from true goodness, is θειότερόν τι πάσης ὑποδείξεως, (as *Origen* speaks,) *It brings such a divine light into the soul, as is more clear and convincing than any demonstration.*"

Apostacy and a false knowledge introduced.

§. III. That this certain and undoubted method of the true knowledge of God hath been brought out of use, hath been none of the least devices of the devil, to secure mankind to his kingdom. For after the light and glory of the Christian religion had prevailed over a good part of the world, and dispelled the thick mists of the heathenish doctrine of the plurality of gods, he that knew there was no probability of deluding the world any longer that way, did then puff man up with false knowledge of the true God; setting him on work to seek God the wrong way, and persuading him to be content with such a knowledge as was of his own acquiring, and not of God's teaching. And this device hath proved the more successful, because accommodated to the natural and corrupt spirit and temper of man, who above all things affects to exalt himself; in which exaltation, as God is

greatly dishonoured, so therein the devil hath his end; who is not anxious how much God is acknowledged in words, provided himself be but always served; he matters not how great and high speculations the natural man entertains of God, so long as he serves his own lusts and passions, and is obedient to his evil suggestions and temptations. Thus *Christianity* is become as it were an art, acquired by human science and industry, like any other art or science; and men have not only assumed the name of *Christians*, but even have procured themselves to be esteemed as *masters of* Christianity by certain artificial tricks, though altogether strangers to the spirit and life of Jesus. But if we make a right definition of a *Christian*, according to the scripture, That *he is one who hath the Spirit, and is led by it*, how many *Christians*, yea, and of these great *masters* and *doctors* of *Christianity*, so accounted, shall we justly divest of that noble title?

Christianity is become an art, acquired by human science and industry.

If those therefore who have all the other means of knowledge, and are sufficiently learned therein, whether it be the letter of the scripture, the traditions of churches, or the works of creation and providence, whence they are able to deduce strong and undeniable arguments, (which may be true in themselves,) are not yet to be esteemed *Christians*, according to the certain and infallible definition above mentioned; and if the inward and immediate revelation of God's Spirit in the heart, in such as have been altogether ignorant of some, and but very little skilled in others, of these means of attaining knowledge, hath brought them to salvation; then it will necessarily and evidently follow, that inward and immediate revelation is the only sure and certain way to attain the true and saving knowledge of God.

By revelation is the true knowledge of God.

But the first is true: therefore the last.

Now as this argument doth very strongly conclude for this way of knowledge, and against such

as deny it, so in this respect it is the more to be regarded, as the propositions from which it is deduced are so clear, that our very adversaries cannot deny them. For as to the first it is acknowledged, that many learned men may be, and have been, damned. And as to the second, who will deny but many illiterate men may be, and are, saved? Nor dare any affirm, that none come to the knowledge of God and salvation by the inward revelation of the Spirit, without these other outward means, unless they be also so bold as to exclude *Abel*, *Seth*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Job*, and all the holy patriarchs from true knowledge and salvation.

Abel, Seth, Noah, &c. instanced.

§ IV. I would however not be understood, as if hereby I excluded those other means of knowledge from any use or service to man; it is far from me so to judge, as concerning the *scriptures*, in the next proposition, will more plainly appear. The question is not, what may be profitable or helpful, but what is absolutely necessary. Many things may contribute to further a work, which yet are not the main thing that makes the work go on.

The sum then of what is said amounts to this: That where the true inward knowledge of God is, through the revelation of his Spirit, there is all; neither is there an absolute necessity of any other. But where the best, highest, and most profound knowledge is, without this, there is nothing, as to the obtaining the great end of salvation. This truth is very effectually confirmed by the first part of the proposition itself, which in few words comprehendeth divers unquestionable arguments, which I shall in brief subsume.

I. First, That there is no knowledge of the Father but by the Son.

II. Secondly, That there is no knowledge of the Son but by the Spirit.

III. Thirdly, That by the Spirit, God hath always revealed himself to his children.

IV. Fourthly, That these revelations were the formal object of the saints' faith.

V. And Lastly, That the same continueth to be the object of the saints' faith to this day.

Of each of these I shall speak a little particularly, and then proceed to the latter part.

§ V. As to the first, viz. That there is no knowledge of the Father but by the Son, it will easily be proved, being founded upon the plain words of scripture, and is therefore a fit *medium* from whence to deduce the rest of our assertions. Assert. 1. proved.

For the infinite and most wise God, who is the *foundation, root,* and *spring* of all *operation,* hath wrought all things by his eternal Word and Son. *This is that* WORD *that was in the beginning with God, and was God, by whom all things were made, and without whom was not any thing made that was made.* This is that *Jesus Christ by whom God created all things, by whom, and for whom, all things were created, that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers,* Col. i. 16. who therefore is called, *The first born of every creature,* Col. i. 15. As then that infinite and incomprehensible fountain of life and motion operateth in the creatures by his own eternal word and power, so no creature has access again unto him but in and by the Son, according to his own express words, *No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him,* Mat. xi. 27. Luke x. 22. And again, he himself saith, *I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me,* John xiv. 6. John i. 1, 2, 3. Eph. iii. 9.

Hence he is fitly called, *The Mediator betwixt God and man:* for, having been with God from all eternity, being himself God, and also in time partaking of the nature of man, through him is the goodness and love of God conveyed to mankind, and by him again man receiveth and partaketh of these mercies.

Hence is easily deduced the proof of this first assertion, thus:

If no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him, then there is no knowledge of the Father but by the Son.

But, no man knoweth the Father but the Son.

Therefore there is no knowledge of the Father but by the Son.

The first part of the antecedent are the plain words of scripture: the consequence thereof is undeniable; except one would say, that he hath the knowledge of the Father, while yet he knows him not; which were an absurd repugnance.

Again, if the Son be the way, the truth, and the life, and that no man cometh unto the Father, but by him; then there is no knowledge of the Father but by the Son.

But the first is true: therefore the last.

The antecedent are the very scripture words: the consequence is very evident: for how can any know a thing, who useth not the way, without which it is not knowable? But it is already proved, that there is no other way but by the Son; so that whoso uses not that way, cannot know him, neither come unto him.

Assert. 2. proved.

§ VI. Having then laid down this first principle, I come to the second, viz. That there is no knowledge of the Son but by the Spirit; or, That the revelation of the Son of God is by the Spirit.

Where it is to be noted, that I always speak of the saving, certain, and necessary knowledge of God; which that it cannot be acquired otherways than by the Spirit, doth also appear from many clear scriptures. For Jesus Christ, in and by whom the Father is revealed, doth also reveal himself to his disciples and friends in and by his Spirit. As his manifestation was outward, when he testified and witnessed for the truth in this world, and approved himself faithful throughout, so be-

ing now withdrawn, as to the outward man, he doth teach and instruct mankind inwardly by his own Spirit; *He standeth at the door and knocketh, and whoso heareth his voice and openeth, he comes in* to such, *Rev.* iii. 20. Of this revelation of Christ in him *Paul* speaketh, *Gal.* i. 16. in which he placeth the excellency of his ministry, and the certainty of his calling. And the promise of Christ to his disciples, *Lo, I am with you to the end of the world*, confirmeth the same thing; for this is an inward and spiritual presence, as all acknowledge: but what relates hereto will again occur. I shall deduce the proof of this proposition from two manifest places of scripture: the first is, 1 *Cor.* ii. 11, 12. *What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things which are freely given us of God.* The apostle in the verses before, speaking of the wonderful things which are prepared for the saints, after he hath declared that *the natural man cannot reach them*, adds, that *they are revealed by the Spirit of God*, ver. 9, 10. giving this reason, *For the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God.* And then he bringeth in the comparison, in the verses above-mentioned, very apt, and answerable to our purpose and doctrine, that *as the things of a man are only known by the spirit of man, so the things of God are only known by the Spirit of God;* that is, that as nothing below the spirit of man (as the spirit of brutes, or any other creatures) can properly reach unto or comprehend the things of a man, as being of a nobler and higher nature, so neither can the spirit of man, or the natural man, as the apostle in the 14th verse subsumes, receive nor discern the things of God, or the things that are spiritual, as being also of an higher nature: which the apostle

Proof I.

The things of God are known by the Spirit of God.

himself gives for the reason, saying, *Neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.* So that the apostle's words, being reduced to an argument, do very well prove the matter under debate, thus:

If that which appertaineth properly to man, cannot be discerned by any lower or baser principle than the spirit of man; then cannot those things, that properly relate unto God and Christ, be known or discerned by any lower or baser thing than the Spirit of God and Christ.

But the first is true: therefore also the second.

The whole strength of the argument is contained in the apostle's words before-mentioned; which therefore being granted, I shall proceed to deduce a second argument, thus:

That which is spiritual can only be known and discerned by the Spirit of God.

But the revelation of Jesus Christ, and the true and saving knowledge of him, is spiritual:

Therefore the revelation of Jesus Christ, and the true and saving knowledge of him, can only be known and discerned by the Spirit of God.

Proof II.

No man can call Jesus Lord &c.

The other scripture is also a saying of the same apostle, 1 *Cor.* xii. 3. *No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.* This scripture, which is full of truth, and answereth full well to the enlightened understanding of the spiritual and real Christian, may perhaps prove very strange to the carnal and pretended follower of Christ, by whom perhaps it hath not been so diligently remarked. Here the apostle doth so much require the Holy Spirit in the things that relate to a Christian, that he positively avers, we cannot so much as affirm *Jesus to be the Lord without it;* which insinuates no less, than that the spiritual truths of the gospel are as lies in the mouths of carnal and unspiritual men; for though in themselves they be true, yet are they not true as to them, because not known, nor

Spiritual truths are lies spoken by carnal men.

uttered forth in and by that principle and spirit that ought to direct the mind and actuate it; in such things they are no better than the counterfeit representations of things in a comedy; neither can it be more truly and properly called a real and true knowledge of God and Christ, than the actions of *Alexander* the Great, and *Julius Cæsar*, *&c.* if now transacted upon a stage, might be called truly and really their doings, or the persons representing them might be said truly and really to have conquered *Asia*, overcome *Pompey*, &c.

This knowledge then of Christ, which is not by the revelation of his own Spirit in the heart, is no more properly the knowledge of Christ, than the *prattling of a parrot*, which has been taught a few words, may be said to be the voice of a man; for as that, or some other bird, may be taught to sound or utter forth a rational sentence, as it hath learned it by the outward ear, and not from any living principle of reason actuating it; so just such is that knowledge of the things of God, which the natural and carnal man hath gathered from the words or writings of spiritual men, which are not true to him, because conceived in the natural spirit, and so brought forth by the wrong organ, and not proceeding from the spiritual principle; no more than the words of a man acquired by art, and brought forth by the mouth of a bird, not proceeding from a rational principle, are true with respect to the bird which utters them. Wherefore from this scripture I shall further add this argument:

Like the prattling of a parrot.

If no man can say *Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost;* then no man can know *Jesus to be the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.*

But the first is true: therefore the second.

From this argument there may be another deduced, concluding in the very terms of this assertion: thus,

If no man can know *Jesus to be the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost*, then there can be no certain knowledge or revelation of him but by the Spirit.

But the first is true: therefore the second.

Assert. 3. proved.

§. VII. The third thing affirmed is, That by the Spirit God always revealed himself to his children.

For making the truth of this assertion appear, it will be but needful to consider God's manifesting himself towards and in relation to his creatures from the beginning, which resolves itself always herein. The first step of all is ascribed hereunto by *Moses*, Gen. i. 2. *And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.* I think it will not be denied, that God's converse with man, all along from *Adam* to *Moses*, was by the immediate manifestation of his Spirit: and afterwards, through the whole tract of the law, he spake to his children no otherways; which, as it naturally followeth from the principles above proved, so it cannot be denied by such as acknowledge the scriptures of truth to have been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost: for these writings, from *Moses* to *Malachi*, do declare, that during all that time God revealed himself to his children by his Spirit.

That revelation is by the Spirit of God.

Object. But if any will object, That after the dispensation of the law God's method of speaking was altered;

Ans. I answer: First, That God spake always immediately to the *Jews*, in that he spake always immediately to the *High-Priest* from betwixt the *Cherubims;* who, when he entered into the *Holy of Holies*, returning, did relate to the whole people the voice and will of God, there immediately revealed. So that this immediate speaking never ceased in any age.

Sanctum Sanctorum.

Secondly, from this immediate fellowship were none shut out, who earnestly sought after and waited for it; in that many, besides the *High-Priest*, who were not so much as of the kindred of

Levi, nor of the prophets, did receive it and speak from it; as it is written, *Numb.* xi. 25. where the *Spirit* is said to have *rested upon the seventy elders*; which Spirit also reached unto two that were not in the tabernacle, but in the camp; whom when some would have forbidden, *Moses* would not, but rejoiced, *wishing that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that he would put his Spirit upon them*, ver. 29.

Not that out from this immediate fellowship.

This is also confirmed *Neh.* ix. where the elders of the people, after their return from captivity, when they began to sanctify themselves by fasting and prayer, numbering up the many mercies of God towards their fathers, say, verse 20. *Thou gavest also thy good Spirit to instruct them*; and verse 30. *Yet many years didst thou forbear, and testify against them by thy Spirit in thy prophets.* Many are the sayings of spiritual *David* to this purpose, as *Psalm* li. 11, 12. *Take not thy holy Spirit from me; uphold me with thy free Spirit.* Psal. cxxxix. 7. *Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?* Hereunto doth the prophet *Isaiah* ascribe the credit of his testimony, saying, chap. xlviii. 16. *And now the Lord God and his Spirit hath sent me.* And that God revealed himself to his children under the New Testament, to wit, to the apostles, evangelists, and primitive disciples, is confessed by all. How far now this yet continueth, and is to be expected, comes hereafter to be spoken to.

§. VIII. The fourth thing affirmed is, That these revelations were the object of the saints' faith of old. Assert. 4.

This will easily appear by the definition of faith, and considering what its object is: for which we shall not dive into the curious and various notions of the school-men, but stay in the plain and positive words of the apostle *Paul*, who, *Heb.* xi. describes it two ways. *Faith* (saith he) *is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen*: which, as the apostle illustrateth it in the same chapter by many examples, is no other but a firm

Proved.

What faith is.

and certain belief of the mind, whereby it *resteth*, and in a sense *possesseth* the substance of some things hoped for, through its confidence in the promise of God: and thus the soul hath a most firm evidence, by its faith, of things not yet seen nor come to pass. The object of this faith is the *promise*, *word*, or *testimony of God*, speaking in the mind. Hence it hath been generally affirmed, that the object of faith is *Deus loquens*, *&c.* that is, *God speaking*, *&c.* which is also manifest from all those examples deduced by the apostle throughout that whole chapter, whose faith was founded neither upon any outward testimony, nor upon the voice or writing of man, but upon the revelation of God's will, manifest unto them, and in them; as in the example of *Noah*, ver. 7. thus, *By faith* Noah, *being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark to the saving of his house; by the which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith.* What was here the object of *Noah's faith*, but God speaking unto him? He had not the writings nor prophesyings of any going before, nor yet the concurrence of any church or people to strengthen him; and yet his faith in the word, by which he contradicted the whole world, saved him and his house. Of which also *Abraham* is set forth as a singular example, being therefore called the Father of the Faithful, who is said *against hope to have believed in hope*, in that he not only willingly forsook his father's country, not knowing whither he went; in that he believed concerning the coming of *Isaac*, though contrary to natural probability; but above all, in that he refused not to offer him up, not doubting but God was able to raise him from the dead; of whom it is said, that in *Isaac shall thy seed be called.* And last of all, in that he rested in the promise, that his seed should possess the land, wherein he himself was but a pilgrim, and which to them was not to be

The object of faith, Deus loquens.

Noah's faith.

Abraham's faith.

fulfilled while divers ages after. The object of *Abraham's* faith in all this was no other but inward and immediate revelation, or God signifying his will unto him inwardly and immediately by his Spirit.

But because, in this part of the proposition, we made also mention of external voices, appearances, and dreams in the alternative, I think also fit to speak hereof, what in that respect may be objected; to wit,

Object. That those who found their faith now upon immediate and objective revelation, ought to have also outward voices or visions, dreams or appearances for it:

Answ. *It is not denied but* God made use of the ministry of angels, who, in the appearance of men, spake outwardly to the saints of old, and that he did also reveal some things to them in dreams and visions; none of which we will affirm to be ceased, so as to limit the power and liberty of God in manifesting himself towards his children. But while we are considering the object of faith, we must not stick to that which is but circumstantially and accidentally so, but to that which is universally and substantially so.

The ministry of angels speaking in the appearance of men to the saints of old.

Next again, we must distinguish betwixt that which in itself is subject to doubt and delusion, and therefore is received for and because of another; and that which is not subject to any doubt, but is received simply for and because of itself, as being *prima veritas*, the *very first* and *original* truth. Let us then consider how or how far these outward voices, appearances, and dreams were the object of the saints' faith: was it because they were simply voices, appearances, or dreams? Nay, certainly; for they were not ignorant, that the devil might form a sound of words, convey it to the outward ear, and deceive the outward senses, by making things to appear that are not. Yea, do we

Revelations by dreams and visions.

not see by daily experience, that the *jugglers* and *mountebanks* can do as much as all that by their *legerdemain?* God forbid then that the saints' faith should be founded upon so fallacious a foundation as man's outward and fallible senses. What made them then give credit to these visions? Certainly nothing else but the secret testimony of *God's Spirit* in their hearts, assuring them that the voices, dreams, and visions were of and from God. *Abraham* believed the angels; but who told him that these men were angels? We must not think his faith then was built upon his outward senses, but proceeded from the secret persuasion of God's Spirit in his heart. This then must needs be acknowledged to be originally and principally the object of the saints' faith, without which there is no true and certain faith, and by which many times faith is begotten and strengthened without any of these outward or visible helps; as we may observe in many passages of the holy scripture, where it is only mentioned, *And God said, &c.* And *the word of the Lord came* unto such and such, *saying, &c.*

But if any one should pertinaciously affirm,

Object. That this did import an outward audible voice to the carnal ear;

Answ. I would gladly know what other argument such an one could bring for this his affirmation, saving his own simple conjecture. It is said indeed, *The Spirit witnesseth with our Spirit;* but not to our outward ears, *Rom.* viii. 16. And seeing the Spirit of God is within us, and not without us only, it speaks to our spiritual, and not to our bodily ear. Therefore I see no reason, where it is so often said in scripture, *The Spirit said, moved, hindered, called* such or such a one, to *do* or *forbear* such or such a thing, that any have to conclude, that this was not an inward voice to the ear of the soul, rather than an outward voice to the bodily ear. If any be otherwise minded, let them, if they can, produce

The Spirit speaks to the spiritual ear, not to the outward.

their arguments, and we may further consider of them.

From all therefore which is above declared, I shall deduce an argument to conclude the proof of this assertion, thus:

That which any one firmly believes, as the ground and foundation of his hope in God, and life eternal, is the formal object of his faith.

But the inward and immediate revelation of God's Spirit, speaking in and unto the saints, was by them believed as the ground and foundation of their hope in God, and life eternal.

Therefore these inward and immediate revelations were the formal object of their faith.

Assert. 5. proved.

§. IX. *That which now* cometh under debate, is what we asserted in the last place, to wit, That the same continueth to be the object of the saints' faith unto this day. Many will agree to what we have said before, who differ from us herein.

There is nevertheless a very firm argument, confirming the truth of this assertion, included in the proposition itself, to wit, That the object of the saints' faith is the same in all ages, though held forth under divers administrations; which I shall reduce to an argument, and prove thus:

First, Where the faith is one, the object of the faith is one.

But the faith is one: Therefore, &c.

That the faith is one, are the express words of the apostle, *Eph.* iv. 5. who placeth the *one faith* with the *one God;* importing no less, than that to affirm *two faiths* is as absurd as to affirm *two Gods.*

The faith of the saints of old the same with ours.

Moreover, if the *faith* of the ancients were not one and the same with ours, *i. e.* agreeing in *substance* therewith, and receiving the same definition, it had been impertinent for the apostle, *Heb.* xi. to have illustrated the definition of our faith by the examples of that of the ancients, or to go about to move us by the example of *Abraham*, if *Abraham's*

faith were different in nature from ours. Nor doth any difference arise hence, because they believed in Christ with respect to his appearance outwardly as future, and we, as already appeared: for neither did they then so believe in him to come, as not to feel him present with them, and witness him near; seeing the apostle saith, *They all drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, which rock was Christ;* nor do we so believe concerning his appearance past, as not also to feel and know him *present with us*, and to *feed upon him; except Christ* (saith the apostle) *be in you, ye are reprobates;* so that both our faith is one, terminating in one and the same thing. And as to the other part or consequence of the antecedent, to wit, That the object is one where the faith is one, the apostle also proveth it in the fore-cited chapter, where he makes all the worthies of old examples to us. Now wherein are they imitable, but because they believed in God? And what was the object of their faith, but inward and immediate revelation, as we have before proved? Their example can be no ways applicable to us, except we believe in God, as they did; that is, by the same object. The apostle clears this yet further by his own example, *Gal.* i. 16. where he saith, *So soon as Christ was revealed in him, he consulted not with flesh and blood, but forthwith believed and obeyed.* The same apostle, *Heb.* xiii. 7, 8. where he exhorteth the *Hebrews* to follow the faith of the elders, adds this reason, *Considering the end of their conversation, Jesus Christ, the same to-day, yesterday, and forever:* Hereby notably insinuating, that in the object there is no alteration.

Object. If any now object the *diversity of administration;*

Answ. I answer; That altereth not at all the *object:* for the same apostle mentioning this diversity three times, 1 *Cor.* xii. 4, 5, 6. centereth always in the same object; the same Spirit, the same Lord, the same God.

But further; If the object of faith were not one and the same both to us and to them, then it would follow that we were to know God some other way than by the Spirit.

But this were absurd: Therefore, &c.

Lastly, This is most firmly proved from a common and received maxim of the school-men, to wit, *Omnis actus specificatur ab objecto*, Every act is specified from its object: from which, if it be true, as they acknowledge, (though for the sake of many I shall not recur to this argument, as being too nice and scholastic, neither lay I much stress upon those kind of things, as being that which commends not the simplicity of the gospel,) it would follow, that if the object were different, then the faith would be different also.

Such as deny this proposition now-a-days use here a distinction; granting that God is to be known by his Spirit, but again denying that it is immediate or inward, but in and by the scriptures; in which the mind of the Spirit (as they say) being fully and amply expressed, we are thereby to know God, and be led in all things.

As to the negative of this assertion, That the scriptures are not sufficient, neither were ever appointed to be the adequate and only rule, nor yet can guide or direct a Christian in all those things that are needful for him to know, we shall leave that to the next proposition to be examined. What is proper in this place to be proved is, That Christians now are to be led inwardly and immediately by the Spirit of God, even in the same manner (though it befall not many to be led in the same measure) as the saints were of old.

Christians are now to be led by the Spirit, in the same manner as the saints of old.

§. X. I shall prove this by divers arguments, and first from the promise of Christ in these words, *John* xiv. 16. *And I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever.* Ver. 17. *Even the Spirit of truth, whom*

the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. Again, ver. 26. *But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance.* And xvi. 13. *But when the Spirit of truth shall come, he shall lead you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear he shall speak, and shall declare unto you things to come.* We have here first, who this is, and that is divers ways expressed, to wit, *The Comforter, the Spirit of truth, the Holy Ghost, the sent of the Father in the name of Christ.* And hereby is sufficiently proved the sottishness of those *Socinians*, and other carnal Christians, who neither know nor acknowledge any internal Spirit or power but that which is merely natural; by which they sufficiently declare themselves to be of the world, who cannot receive the Spirit, because they neither see him nor know him. Secondly, Where this Spirit is to be, *He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.* And Thirdly, What his work is, *He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, and guide you into all truth,* ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

Query 1. Who is this Comforter?

As to the First, Most do acknowledge that there is nothing else understood than what the plain words signify; which is also evident by many other places of scripture that will hereafter occur; neither do I see how such as affirm otherways can avoid blasphemy: for, if the *Comforter*, the *Holy Ghost*, and *Spirit of truth*, be all one with the scriptures, then it will follow that the scriptures are God, seeing it is true that the Holy Ghost is God. If these men's reasoning might take place, wherever the *Spirit* is mentioned in relation to the saints, thereby might be truly and properly understood the *scriptures;* which, what a nonsensical monster it would make of the Christian religion,

Nonsensical consequences from the Socinians' belief of the scriptures being the Spirit.

will easily appear to all men. As where it is said, *A manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal;* it might be rendered thus, A manifestation of the *scriptures* is given to every man to profit withal; what notable sense this would make, and what a curious interpretation, let us consider by the sequel of the same chapter, 1 *Cor.* xii. 9, 10, 11. *To another the gifts of healing, by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles, &c. But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.* What would now these great masters of reason, the *Socinians*, judge, if we should place the *scriptures* here instead of the *Spirit?* Would it answer their reason, which is the great guide of their faith? Would it be good and sound reason in their *logical schools*, to affirm that the scripture divideth severally as it will, and giveth to some the *gift of healing, to others the working of miracles?* If then this Spirit, a manifestation whereof is given to every man to profit withal, be no other than that *Spirit of truth* before-mentioned *which guideth into all truth*, this Spirit of truth cannot be the scripture. I could infer an hundred more absurdities of this kind upon this sottish opinion, but what is said may suffice. For even some of themselves, being at times forgetful or ashamed of their own doctrine, do acknowledge that the Spirit of God is another thing, and distinct from the scriptures, to guide and influence the saints.

Secondly, That this Spirit is inward, in my opinion needs no interpretation or commentary, *He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.* This indwelling of the Spirit in the saints, as it is a thing most needful to be known and believed, so is it as positively asserted in the scripture as any thing else can be. *If so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you*, saith the apostle to the *Romans*, chap. viii. 9. And again, *Know ye not that your body is the temple of the*

Query 2. Where is his place?

Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. vi. 19. *And that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?* 1 Cor. iii. 16. Without this the apostle reckoneth no man a Christian. *If any man* (saith he) *have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.* These words immediately follow those above-mentioned out of the epistle to the *Romans*, *But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be the Spirit of God dwell in you.* The context of which showeth, that the apostle reckoneth it the main token of a Christian, both positively and negatively: for in the former verses he showeth how the *carnal mind is enmity against God*, and that such as are in the *flesh cannot please him.* Where subsuming, he adds concerning the *Romans*, that they *are not in the flesh*, if the *Spirit of God dwell in them.* What is this but to affirm, that they in whom the Spirit dwells are no longer in the flesh, nor of those who please not God, but are become Christians indeed? Again, in the next verse he concludes negatively, that *If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his;* that is, he is no Christian. He then that acknowledges himself ignorant and a stranger to the inward in-being of the Spirit of Christ in his heart, doth thereby acknowledge himself to be yet in the carnal mind, which is enmity to God; to be yet in the flesh, where God cannot be pleased; and in short, whatever he may otherways know or believe of Christ, or however much skilled or acquainted with the letter of the holy scripture, not yet to be, notwithstanding all that, attained to the least degree of a Christian; yea, not once to have embraced the Christian religion. For take but away the Spirit, and Christianity remains no more Christianity, than the dead carcase of a man, when the soul and spirit is departed, remains a man; which the living can no more abide, but do bury out of their sight, as a noisome and useless thing, however acceptable it hath been when actuated and moved by the soul. Lastly, *Whatsoever is ex-*

The Spirit within, the main token of a Christian.

cellent, whatsoever is noble, whatsoever is worthy, whatsoever is desirable in the Christian faith, is ascribed to this *Spirit*, without which it could no more subsist than the outward world without the sun. Hereunto have all true Christians, in all ages, attributed their strength and life. It is by this Spirit that they avouch themselves to have been converted to God, to have been redeemed from the world, to have been strengthened in their weakness, comforted in their afflictions, confirmed in their temptations, imboldened in their sufferings, and triumphed in the midst of all their persecutions. Yea, the writings of all true Christians are full of the great and notable things which they all affirm themselves to have done, by the power, and virtue, and efficacy of this Spirit of God working in them. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, John* vi. 63. It was the *Spirit that gave them utterance, Acts* ii. 4. It was the *Spirit* by which *Stephen* spake, *That the Jews were not able to resist, Acts* vi. 10. It is such as *walk after the Spirit that receive no condemnation, Rom.* viii. 1. It is the *law of the Spirit that makes free*, ver. 2. It is by the *Spirit of God dwelling in us*, that we are *redeemed from the flesh, and from the carnal mind*, ver. 9. It is *the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us that quickeneth our mortal bodies*, ver. 11. It is through this *Spirit* that the deeds of the body are *mortified*, and life obtained, ver. 13. It is by this *Spirit* that we are *adopted*, and *cry ABBA, Father*, ver. 15. It is this *Spirit that beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God*, ver. 16. It is this *Spirit that helpeth our infirmities, and maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered*, ver. 26. It is by this *Spirit* that the glorious things which God hath laid up for us, *which neither outward ear hath heard, nor outward eye hath seen, nor the heart of man conceived* by all his reasonings, are revealed unto us, 1 *Cor.* ii. 9, 10. It is by this *Spirit* that both *wisdom* and *knowledge*, and *faith*,

The great and notable acts that have been and are performed by the Spirit in all ages.

and *miracles*, and *tongues*, and *prophecies*, are obtained, 1 *Cor.* xii. 8, 9, 10. It is by this *Spirit* that we are *all baptized into one body*, ver. 13. In short, what thing relating to the salvation of the soul, and to the life of a Christian, is rightly performed, or effectually obtained, without it? And what shall I say more? For the time would fail me to tell of all those things which the holy men of old have declared, and the saints of this day do themselves enjoy, by the virtue and power of this *Spirit dwelling in them.* Truly my paper could not contain the many testimonies whereby this truth is confirmed; wherefore, besides what is above-mentioned out of the fathers, whom all pretend to reverence, and those of *Luther* and *Melancthon*, I shall deduce yet one observable testimony out of *Calvin*, because not a few of the followers of his doctrine do refuse and deride (and that, as it is to be feared, because of their own non-experience thereof) this way of the Spirit's in-dwelling, as uncertain and dangerous; that so, if neither the testimony of the scripture, nor the sayings of others, nor right reason can move them, they may at least be reproved by the words of their own master, who saith in the third book of his Institutions, *cap.* 2. on this wise:

Calvin of the necessity of the Spirit's in-dwelling in us.

"But they allege, It is a bold presumption for "any to pretend to an undoubted knowledge of "God's will; which (saith he) I should grant unto "them, if we should ascribe so much to ourselves "as to subject the incomprehensible counsel of "God to the rashness of our understandings. But "while we simply say with *Paul*, that *we have receiv-* "*ed not the spirit of this world, but the Spirit which is* "*of God*, by whose teaching we know those things "that are given us of God, what can they prate "against it without reproaching the Spirit of God? "For if it be an horrible sacrilege to accuse any "revelation coming from him, either of a lie, of un-

"certainty or ambiguity, in asserting its certain-
"ty wherein do we offend? But they cry out, That
"it is not without great temerity that we dare so
"boast of the Spirit of Christ. Who would believe
"that the sottishness of these men were so great,
"who would be esteemed the masters of the world,
"that they should so fail in the first principles of
"religion? Verily I could not believe it, if their
"own writings did not testify so much. *Paul* ac-
"counts those the *Sons of God, who are actuated by*
"*the Spirit of God;* but these will have the children
"of God actuated by their own spirits without the
"Spirit of God. He will have us call God *Father*,
"the Spirit dictating that term unto us, which only
"can witness to our spirits that we are the *Sons of*
"*God.* These, though they cease not to call upon
"God, do nevertheless dismiss the Spirit, by whose
"guiding he is rightly to be called upon. He denies
"them to be the *Sons of God*, or the *Servants of*
"*Christ*, who are not led by his Spirit; but these
"feign a Christianity that needs not the Spirit of
"Christ. He takes away the hope of a blessed *resur-*
"*rection*, unless we feel the Spirit residing in us;
"but these feign a hope without any such a feeling;
"but perhaps they will answer, that they deny not
"but that it is necessary to have it, only of modesty
"and humility we ought to deny and not acknowl-
"edge it. What means he then, when he commands
"the *Corinthians* to *try themselves*, if they be in the
"faith; to *examine themselves*, whether they have
"Christ, whom whosoever acknowledges not dwell-
"ing in him, is a reprobate? *By the Spirit which*
"*he hath given us*, saith *John*, *we know that he abideth*
"*in us.* And what do we then else but call in
"question Christ's promise, while we would be
"esteemed the servants of God without his Spirit,
"which he declared he would *pour out upon all his?*
"Seeing these things are the first grounds of piety,
"it is miserable blindness to accuse Christians of

Without the Spirit's presence, Christianity must cease.

"pride, because they dare glory of the presence "of the Spirit; without which glorying, Christian-"ity itself could not be. But by their example "they declare, how truly Christ spake, saying, That "his Spirit was unknown to the world, and that "those only acknowledge it with whom it re-"mains." Thus far *Calvin.*

If therefore it be so, why should any be so foolish as to deny, or so unwise as not to seek after this Spirit, which Christ hath promised shall dwell in his children? They then that do suppose the indwelling and leading of his Spirit to be ceased, must also suppose Christianity to be ceased, which cannot subsist without it.

Query 3. What is the work of the Spirit? John xvi. 13. and xiv. 26.

Thirdly, What the work of this Spirit is, is partly before shown, which Christ compriseth in two or three things, *He will guide you into all truth; He will teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance.* Since Christ hath provided for us so good an instructer, why need we then lean so much to those traditions and commandments of men wherewith so many *Christians* have burthened themselves? Why need we set up our own carnal and corrupt reason for a guide to us in matters spiritual, as some will needs do? May it not be complained of all such, as the Lord did of old concerning *Israel* by the prophets, *Jer.* ii. 13. *For my people have committed two evils, they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water?* Have not many forsaken, do not many deride and reject, this inward and immediate guide, this Spirit that leads into all truth, and cast up to themselves other ways, broken ways indeed, which have not all this while brought them out of the flesh, nor out of the world, nor from under the dominion of their own lusts and sinful affections, whereby truth, which is only rightly learned by this Spirit, is so much a stranger in the earth?

The Spirit the guide.

From all then that hath been mentioned concerning this promise, and these words of Christ, it will follow, that Christians are always to be led inwardly and immediately by the Spirit of God dwelling in them, and that the same is a standing and perpetual ordinance, as well to the church in general in all ages, as to every individual member in particular, as appears from this argument:

A perpetual ordinance to God's church and people.

The promises of Christ to his children are *Yea* and *Amen*, and cannot fail, but must of necessity be fulfilled.

But Christ hath promised, that the *Comforter*, the *Holy Ghost*, the *Spirit of truth*, shall abide with his children forever, shall dwell with them, shall be *in them*, shall lead them into all truth, shall teach them all things, and bring all things to their remembrance:

Therefore the *Comforter*, the *Holy Ghost*, the *Spirit of truth*, his abiding with his children, &c. is *Yea* and *Amen*, *&c.*

Again: No man is redeemed from the carnal mind, which is at enmity with God, which is not subject to the law of God, neither can be: no man is yet in the Spirit, but in the flesh, and cannot please God, except he in whom the Spirit of God dwells.

But every true Christian is in measure redeemed from the carnal mind, is gathered out of the enmity, and can be subject to the law of God; is out of the flesh, and in the Spirit, the Spirit of God dwelling in him.

Therefore every true Christian hath the Spirit of God dwelling in him.

Again: *Whosoever hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his;* that is, no *child*, no *friend*, no *disciple* of Christ.

But every true Christian is a *child*, a *friend*, a *disciple* of Christ:

Therefore every true Christian hath the Spirit of Christ.

Moreover: Whosoever is the temple of the *Holy Ghost*, in him the Spirit of God dwelleth and abideth.

But every true Christian is the temple of the *Holy Ghost:*

Therefore in every true Christian the Spirit of God dwelleth and abideth.

But to conclude: He in whom the Spirit of God dwelleth, it is not in him a lazy, dumb, useless thing; but it moveth, actuateth, governeth, instructeth, and teacheth him all things whatsoever are needful for him to know; yea, bringeth all things to his remembrance.

But the Spirit of God dwelleth in every true Christian:

Therefore the Spirit of God leadeth, instructeth, and teacheth every true Christian whatsoever is needful for him to know.

Object. §. XI. But there are some that will confess, That the Spirit doth now lead and influence the saints, but that he doth it only subjectively, or in a blind manner, by enlightening their understandings, to understand and believe the truth delivered in the scriptures; but not at all by presenting those truths to the mind by way of object, and this they call *Medium incognitum assentiendi*, as that *of whose working a man is not sensible.*

Answ. This opinion, though somewhat more tolerable than the former, is nevertheless not altogether according to truth, neither doth it reach the fulness of it.

Arg. 1. 1. Because there be many truths, which, as they are applicable to particulars and individuals, and most needful to be known by them, are in no-wise to be found in the scripture, as in the following *proposition* shall be shown.

Besides, the *arguments* already adduced do prove, that the Spirit doth not only *subjectively* help us to discern truths elsewhere delivered, but also *object-*

ively present those truths to our minds. For that which teacheth me all things, and is given me for that end, without doubt presents those things to my mind which it teacheth me. It is not said, *It shall teach you how to understand those things that are written;* but, *It shall teach you all things.* Again, That which brings all things to my remembrance, must needs present them by way of object; else it were improper to say, It brought them to my remembrance; but only, that it helpeth to remember the objects brought from elsewhere.

My second argument shall be drawn from the nature of the *new covenant;* by which, and those that follow, I shall prove that we are led by the Spirit both *immediately* and *objectively.* The nature of the new covenant is expressed in divers places; and, Arg. 2.

First, *Isa.* lix. 21. *As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.* By the latter part of this is sufficiently expressed the perpetuity and continuance of this promise, *It shall not depart, saith the Lord from henceforth and forever.* In the former part is the promise itself, which is the Spirit of God being upon them, and the words of God being put into their mouths. Proof 1. The leadings of the Spirit.

First, This was *immediate,* for there is no mention made of any *medium;* he saith not, I shall by the means of such and such writings or books, convey such and such words into your mouths; but *My words, I, even I, saith the Lord, have put into your mouths.* 1. Immediately.

Secondly, This must be *objectively;* for [*the words put into the mouth*] are the object presented by him. He saith not, The words which ye shall see written, my Spirit shall only enlighten your understandings, 2. Objectively.

to assent unto; but positively, *My words, which I have put into thy mouth, &c.* From whence I argue thus:

Upon whomsoever the Spirit remaineth always, and putteth words into his mouth, him doth the Spirit teach *immediately, objectively,* and *continually.*

But the Spirit is always upon the seed of the righteous, and putteth words into their mouths, neither departeth from them:

Therefore the Spirit teacheth the righteous *immediately, objectively,* and *continually.*

Proof 2. Secondly, The nature of the *new covenant* is yet more amply expressed, *Jer.* xxxi. 33. which is again repeated and reasserted by the apostle, *Heb.* viii. 10, 11. in these words, *For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts, and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. And they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least to the greatest.*

The object here is *God's law* placed in the heart, and written in the mind; from whence they become God's people, and are brought truly to know him.

The difference between the outward and inward law. In this then is the *law* distinguished from the *gospel;* the *law* before was outward, written in tables of stone, but now is inward, written in the heart: of old the people depended upon their priests for the knowledge of God, but now they have all a certain and sensible knowledge of Him; concerning which *Augustine* speaketh well, in his book *De Litera & Spiritu;* from whom *Aquinas* first of all seems to have taken occasion to move this question, *Whether the new law be a written law, or an implanted law? Lex scripta, vel lex indita?* Which he thus resolves, affirming, *That the new law, or gospel, is not properly a law written, as the old was,*

but Lex indita, *an implanted law;* and that the *old law was written without, but the new law is written within, on the table of the heart.*

How much then are they deceived, who, instead of making the gospel preferable to the law, have made the condition of such as are under the gospel far worse? For no doubt it is a far better and more desirable thing to converse with God *immediately*, than only *mediately*, as being an higher and more glorious dispensation: and yet these men acknowledge that many under the law had *immediate* converse with God, whereas they now cry it is ceased.

The gospel dispensation more glorious than that of the law.

Again: Under the law there was the holy of holies, *into which* the high priest did enter, and received the word of the Lord *immediately* from betwixt the cherubims, so that the people could then certainly know the mind of the Lord; but now, according to these men's judgment, we are in a far worse condition, having nothing but the outward letter of the scripture to guess and divine from; concerning the sense or meaning of one verse of which scarce two can be found to agree. But Jesus Christ hath promised us better things, though many are so unwise as not to believe him, even to guide us by his own unerring Spirit, and hath rent and removed the vail, whereby not only one, and that *once* a year, may enter; but all of us, at all *times*, have access unto him, as often as we draw near unto him with pure hearts: he reveals his will to us by his Spirit, and writes his laws in our hearts. These things then being thus premised, I argue,

Where the law of God is put into the mind, and written in the heart, there the object of faith, and revelation of the knowledge of God, is *inward*, *immediate*, and *objective*.

But the law of God is put into the mind, and written in the heart of every true Christian, under the new covenant.

Therefore the object of faith, and revelation of the knowledge of God to every true Christian, is inward, immediate, and objective.

The *assumption* is the express words of scripture: the *proposition* then must needs be true, except that *which is put into the mind, and written in the heart*, were either not *inward*, not *immediate*, or not *objective*, which is most absurd.

Arg. 3. The anointing recommended, as

§. XII. The third argument is from these words of *John*, 1 *John* ii. ver. 27. *But the anointing, which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.*

1. Common.

First, This could not be any special, peculiar, or extraordinary privilege, but that which is common to all the saints, it being a general epistle, directed to all them of that age.

2. Certain.

Secondly, The apostle proposeth this anointing in them, as a more certain touch-stone for them to discern and try seducers by, even than his own writings; for having in the former verse said, that he had written some things to them concerning such as seduced them, he begins the next verse, *But the anointing, &c. and ye need not that any man teach you, &c.* which infers, that having said to them what can be said, he refers them for all to the inward anointing, which teacheth all things, as the most firm, constant, and certain bulwark against all seducers.

3. Lasting.

And Lastly, That it is a lasting and continuing thing; the anointing which abideth. If it had not been to abide in them, it could not have taught them all things, neither guarded them against all hazard. From which I argue thus,

He that hath an anointing abiding in him, which teacheth him all things, so that he needs no man to teach him, hath an inward and immediate teach-

er, and hath some things inwardly and immediately revealed unto him.

But the saints have such an anointing:

Therefore, &c.

I could prove this doctrine from many more places of scripture, which for brevity's sake I omit; and now come to the second part of the proposition, where the objections usually formed against it are answered.

§. XIII. The most usual is, That *these revelations are uncertain.* Object.

But this bespeaketh much ignorance in the opposers; for we distinguish between the *thesis* and the *hypothesis;* that is, between the *proposition* and *supposition.* For it is one thing to affirm, *that the true and undoubted revelation of God's Spirit is certain and infallible;* and another thing to affirm, that this or that particular person or people is led infallibly by this revelation in what they speak or write, because they affirm themselves to be so led by the inward and immediate revelation of the Spirit. The first is only asserted by us, the latter may be called in question. The question is not who are or are not so led: But whether all ought not or may not be so led? Answ.

The certainty of the Spirit's guidance proved.

Seeing then we have already proved that Christ hath promised his Spirit to lead his children, and that every one of them both ought and may be led by it, if any depart from this certain guide in deeds, and yet in words pretend to be led by it into things that are not good, it will not from thence follow, that the true guidance of the Spirit is uncertain, or ought not to be followed; no more than it will follow that the sun showeth not light, because a blind man, or one who wilfully shuts his eyes, falls into a ditch at noon-day for want of light; or that no words are spoken, because a deaf man hears them not; or that a garden full of fragrant flowers has no sweet smell, because he that has

lost his smelling doth not smell it; the fault then is in the organ, and not in the object.

All these mistakes therefore are to be ascribed to the weakness or wickedness of men, and not to that Holy Spirit. Such as bend themselves most against the certain and infallible testimony of the Spirit use commonly to allege the example of the old *Gnostics*, and the late monstrous and mischievous actings of the *Anabaptists* of *Munster*, all which toucheth us nothing at all, neither weakens a whit our most true doctrine. Wherefore, as a most sure bulwark against such kind of assaults, was subjoined that other part of our proposition thus: *Moreover these divine and inward revelations, which we establish as absolutely necessary for the founding of the true faith, as they do not, so neither can they at any time, contradict the Scriptures' testimony, or sound reason.*

By experience.

Besides the intrinsic and undoubted truth of this assertion, we can boldly affirm it from our certain and blessed experience. For this Spirit never deceived us, never acted nor moved us to any thing that was amiss; but is clear and manifest in its revelations, which are evidently discerned by us, as we wait in that *pure and undefiled light of God* (that proper and fit *organ*) in which they are received. Therefore if any reason after this manner,

(*That because some wicked, ungodly, devilish men have committed wicked actions, and have yet more wickedly asserted, that they were led into these things by the Spirit of God;*

Therefore, *No man ought to lean to the Spirit of God, or seek to be led by it,*)

The absurdity of the consequence.

I utterly deny the consequence of this proposition, which, were it to be received as true, then would all *faith in God* and *hope of salvation* become uncertain, and the *Christian religion* be turned into mere *Scepticism*. For after the same manner I might reason thus:

Because *Eve* was deceived by the *lying of the serpent;*

Therefore she ought not to have trusted to the *promise of God.*

Because the old world was deluded by *evil spirits;*

Therefore ought neither *Noah*, nor *Abraham*, nor *Moses*, to have trusted the *Spirit of the Lord.*

Because a lying spirit spake through the four hundred prophets, that persuaded *Ahab* to go up and fight at *Ramoth Gilead;*

Therefore the testimony of the *true Spirit in Micaiah* was uncertain, and dangerous to be followed.

Because there were *seducing spirits* crept into the *church of old;*

Therefore it was not good, or it is uncertain, to follow the *anointing*, which taught all things, and is truth, and is no lie.

Who dare say, that this is a necessary consequence? Moreover, not only the faith of the saints and church of God of old, is hereby rendered uncertain, but also the faith of all sorts of Christians now is liable to the like hazard, even of those who seek a foundation for their faith elsewhere than from the Spirit. For I shall prove by an inevitable argument, *ab incommodo*, i. e. from the inconveniency of it, that if the Spirit be not to be *followed* upon that account, and that men may not depend upon it as their guide, because some, while pretending thereunto, commit great evils; that then, neither tradition, nor the scriptures, nor reason, which the *Papists*, *Protestants*, and *Socinians* do respectively make the rule of their faith, are any whit more certain. The *Romanists* reckon it an error to celebrate *Easter* any other ways than that church doth. This can only be decided by tradition. And yet the *Greek* church, which equally layeth claim to tradition with herself, doth it otherwise. Yea, so little effectual is

1. Instances of tradition.

Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 26.

tradition to decide the case, that *Polycarpus*, the disciple of *John*, and *Anicetus*, the bishop of *Rome*, who immediately succeeded them, according to whose example both sides concluded the question ought to be decided, could not agree. Here of necessity one of them must err, and that following tradition. Would the *Papists* now judge we dealt fairly by them, if we should thence aver, that tradition is not to be regarded? Besides, in a matter of far greater importance the same difficulty will occur, to wit, in the primacy of the bishop of *Rome*; for many do affirm, and that by tradition, that in the first six hundred years the *Roman prelates* never assumed the title of *Universal Shepherd*, nor were acknowledged as such. And, as that which altogether overturneth this precedency, there are that allege, and that from tradition also, that *Peter* never saw *Rome;* and that therefore the bishop of *Rome* cannot be his successor. Would you *Romanists* think this sound reasoning, to say as you do?

Many have been deceived, and erred grievously, in trusting to tradition;

Therefore we ought to reject all traditions, yea, even those by which we affirm the contrary, and, as we think, prove the truth.

*Conc. Flor. Sess. 5. decreto quodam Conc. Eph. Act. 6. Sess. 11 & 12. Conc. Flor. Sess. 18, 20. Conc. Flor. Sess. 21. p. 480. & seq.

Lastly, In the *council of *Florence*, the chief doctors of the *Romish* and *Greek* churches did debate whole sessions long concerning the interpretation of one sentence of the council of *Ephesus*, and of *Epiphanius*, and *Basilius*, neither could they ever agree about it.

Secondly, As to the scripture, the same difficulty occurreth: the *Lutherans* affirm they believe consubstantiation by the scripture; which the *Calvinists* deny, as that which, they say, according to the same scripture, is a gross error. The *Calvinists* again affirm *absolute predestination*, which the *Arminians* deny, affirming the contrary; wherein both

affirm themselves to be ruled by the scripture and reason in the matter. Should I argue thus then to the *Calvinists?*

Here the *Lutherans* and *Arminians* grossly err, by following the scripture;

Therefore the scripture is not a good nor certain rule; and *è contrario.*

Would either of them accept of this reasoning as good and sound? What shall I say of the *Episcopalians*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and *Anabaptists* of *Great Britain*, who are continually buffeting one another with the scripture? To whom the same argument might be alleged, though they do all unanimously acknowledge it to be the rule.

And Thirdly, as to reason, I shall not need to say much; for whence come all the controversies, contentions, and debates in the world, but because every man thinks he follows right reason? Hence of old came the jangles between the *Stoics*, *Platonists*, *Peripatetics*, *Pythagoreans*, and *Cynics*, as of late betwixt the *Aristotelians*, *Cartesians*, and other naturalists: Can it be thence inferred, or will the *Socinians*, those great reasoners, allow us to conclude, because many, and those very wise men, have erred, by following, as they supposed, their reason, and that with what diligence, care and industry they could, to find out the truth, that therefore no man ought to make use of it at all, nor be positive in what he knows certainly to be rational? And thus far as to opinions; the same uncertainty is no less incident unto those other principles.

3. Of reason.

The debates hence arising betwixt the old and late philosophers.

§. XIV. But if we come to practices, though I confess I do with my whole heart abhor and detest those wild practices which are written concerning the *Anabaptists* of *Munster;* I am bold to say, as bad, if not worse things, have been committed by those that lean to tradition, scripture, and reason: wherein also they have averred themselves to have

Anabaptists for their wild practices, and Protestants and Papists for their wars and bloodshed, each

pretending scripture for it.

been authorized by these rules. I need but mention all the tumults, seditions, and horrible bloodshed, wherewith *Europe* hath been afflicted these divers ages; in which *Papists* against *Papists*, *Calvinists* against *Calvinists*, *Lutherans* against *Lutherans*, and *Papists* assisted by *Protestants*, against other *Protestants* assisted by *Papists*, have miserably shed one another's blood, hiring and forcing men to kill each other, who were ignorant of the quarrel, and strangers one to another: all, meanwhile, pretending reason for so doing, and pleading the lawfulness of it from scripture.

Tradition, scripture, and reason, made a cover for persecution and murder.

For what have the *Papists* pretended for their many *massacres*, acted as well in *France* as elsewhere, but *tradition*, *scripture*, and *reason?* Did they not say, that *reason* persuaded them, *tradition* allowed them, and *scripture* commanded them, to persecute, destroy, and burn *heretics*, such as denied this plain scripture, *Hoc est corpus meum*, *This is my body?* And are not the *Protestants* assenting to this bloodshed, who assert the same thing, and encourage them, by burning and banishing, while their brethren are so treated for the same cause? Are not the islands of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, yea, and all the Christian world, a lively example hereof, which were divers years together as a theatre of blood; where many lost their lives, and numbers of families were utterly destroyed and ruined? For all which no other cause was principally given, than the precepts of the scripture. If we then compare these actings with those of *Munster*, we shall not find great difference; for both affirmed and pretended they were called, and that it was lawful to kill, burn, and destroy the wicked. *We must kill all the wicked*, said those *Anabaptists*, *that we*, *that are the saints*, *may possess the earth*. *We must burn obstinate heretics*, say the *Papists*, *that the* holy church of Rome *may be purged of rotten members*, *and may live in peace*. *We*

must cut off seducing separatists, say the *Prelatical Protestants, who trouble the peace of the church, and refuse the* divine hierarchy, *and* religious ceremonies thereof. *We must kill*, say the *Calvinistic Presbyterians, the Profane Malignants, who accuse the* Holy Consistorial *and* Presbyterian government, *and seek to defend the* Popish *and* Prelatic hierarchy; *as also those other* sectaries *that trouble the peace of our church.* What difference I pray thee, impartial reader, seest thou betwixt these?

If it be said, *The* Anabaptists *went without, and against the authority of the* magistrate; *so did not the other*; Object.

I might easily refute it, by alleging the mutual testimonies of these *sects* against one another. The behaviour of the *Papists* towards *Henry* the Third and Fourth of *France*; their designs upon *James* the Sixth in the gunpowder treason; as also their principle of the *Pope's* power to depose kings for the cause of *heresy*, and to absolve their subjects from their *oath*, and give them to others, proves it against them. Answ.

Examples of Popish cruelties.

And as to the *Protestants*, how much their actions differ from those other above-mentioned, may be seen by the many conspiracies and tumults which they have been active in, both in *Scotland* and *England*, and which they have acted within these hundred years in divers towns and provinces of the *Netherlands*. Have they not oftentimes sought, not only from the *Popish magistrates*, but even from those that had begun to reform, or that had given them some liberty of exercising their religion, that they might only be permitted, without trouble or hindrance, to exercise their religion, promising they would not hinder or molest the *Papists* in the exercise of theirs? And yet did they not on the contrary, so soon as they had power, trouble and abuse those fellow-citizens, and turn them out of the city, and, which

Protestant violences and persecutions in Scotland, England, and Holland.

is worse, even such who together with them had forsaken the Popish religion? Did they not these things in many places against the mind of the magistrates? Have they not publicly, with contumelious speeches, assaulted their magistrates, from whom they had but just before sought and obtained the free exercise of their religion? Representing them, so soon as they opposed themselves to their *hierarchy*, as if they regarded neither God nor religion? Have they not by violent hands possessed themselves of the *Popish churches*, so called, or by force, against the magistrates' mind, taken them away? Have they not turned out of their office and authority whole councils of magistrates, under pretence that they were addicted to *Popery*? Which *Popish magistrates* nevertheless they did but a little before acknowledge to be ordained by God; affirming themselves obliged to yield them obedience and subjection, not only for fear, but for conscience' sake; to whom moreover the very preachers and overseers of the reformed church had willingly sworn fidelity; and yet afterwards have they not said, that the people are bound to force a wicked prince to the observation of God's word? There are many other instances of this kind to be found in their *histories*, not to mention many worse things, which we know to have been acted in our time, and which for brevity's sake I pass by.

Lutheran seditions against the reformed teachers, and assault upon the Marquis of Brandenburg, &c. in Germany.

I might say much of the *Lutherans*, whose tumultuous actions against their magistrates not professing the *Lutheran profession*, are testified of by several historians worthy of credit. Among others, I shall propose only one example to the reader's consideration, which fell out at *Berlin* in the year 1615. "Where the seditious multitude of the *Lutheran* citizens, being stirred up by the daily clamours of their preachers, did not only with violence break into the houses of the reformed

teachers, overturn their libraries, and spoil their furniture; but also with reproachful words, yea, and with stones, assaulted the *Marquis of Brandenburg*, the Elector's brother, while he sought by smooth words to quiet the fury of the multitude; they killed ten of his guard, scarcely sparing himself, who at last by flight escaped out of their hands." All which sufficiently declares, that the concurrence of the magistrate doth not alter their principles, but only their method of procedure. So that for my own part, I see no difference betwixt the actings of those of *Munster*, and these others, (whereof the one pretended to be led by the Spirit, the other by *tradition*, *scripture*, and *reason*,) save this, that the former were rash, heady, and foolish, in their proceedings, and therefore were the sooner brought to nothing, and so into contempt and derision: but the other being more politic, and wise in their generation, held it out longer, and so have authorized their wickedness more, with the seeming authority of law and reason. But both their actings being equally evil, the difference appears to me to be only like that which is between a simple silly thief, that is easily catched, and hanged without any more ado; and a company of resolute bold robbers, who being better guarded, though their offence be nothing less, yet by violence do, to shun the danger, force their masters to give them good terms.

From all which then it evidently follows, that they argue very ill, who despise and reject any principle because men pretending to be led by it do evil; in case it be not the natural and consequential tendency of that principle to lead unto those things that are evil.

Again: It doth follow from what is above asserted, that if the Spirit be to be rejected upon this account, all those other principles ought on the

same account to be rejected. And for my part, as I have never a whit the lower esteem of the blessed testimony of the holy scriptures, nor do the less respect any solid tradition, that is answerable and according to truth; neither at all despise reason, that noble and excellent faculty of the mind, because wicked men have abused the name of them, to cover their wickedness, and deceive the simple; so would I not have any reject or doubt the certainty of that unerring Spirit which God hath given his children, as that which can alone guide them into all truth, because some have falsely pretended to it.

Let none reject the certainty of the unerring Spirit of God, because of false pretenders to it.

§. XV. And because the Spirit of God is the fountain of all truth and sound reason, therefore we have well said, That *it cannot contradict either the testimony of the scripture, or right reason:* "Yet (as the proposition itself concludeth, to the last part of which I now come) it will not from thence follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination either of the outward testimony of scripture, or of the human or natural reason of man, as to a more noble and certain rule or touchstone; for the divine revelation, and inward illumination, is that which is evident by itself, forcing the well-disposed understanding, and irresistibly moving it, to assent by its own evidence and clearness, even as the common principles of natural truths do bend the mind to a natural assent."

He that denies this part of the proposition must needs affirm, that the Spirit of God neither can, nor ever hath manifested itself to man without the scripture, or a distinct discussion of reason; or that the efficacy of this supernatural principle, working upon the souls of men, is less evident than natural principles in their common operations; both which are false.

For, First, Through all the scriptures we may observe, that the manifestation and revelation of

God by his Spirit to the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, was *immediate* and *objective*, as is above proved; which they did not examine by any other principle, but their own evidence and clearness.

The self-evidence of the Spirit.

Secondly, To say that the Spirit of God has less evidence upon the mind of man than natural principles have, is to have too mean and too low thoughts of it. How comes *David* to invite us to *taste and see that God is good*, if this cannot be felt and tasted? This were enough to overturn the faith and assurance of all the saints, both now and of old. How came *Paul* to be persuaded, that *nothing should separate him from the love of God*, but by that evidence and clearness which the Spirit of God gave him? The apostle *John*, who knew well wherein the certainty of faith consisted, judged it no ways absurd, without further argument, to ascribe his knowledge and assurance, and that of all the saints, hereunto in these words, *Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit*, 1 John iv. 13. And again, chap. v. ver. 6. It is *the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth.*

Observe the reason brought by him, *Because the Spirit is truth;* of whose certainty and infallibility I have heretofore spoken. We then trust to and confide in this Spirit, because we know, and certainly believe, that it can only lead us aright, and never *mislead* us; and from this certain confidence it is that we affirm, that no revelation coming from it can ever contradict the scripture's testimony nor right reason: not as making this a more certain rule to ourselves, but as condescending to such, who not discerning the revelations of the Spirit, as they proceed purely from God, will try them by these *mediums.* Yet those that have their spiritual senses, and can savour the things of the Spirit, as it were *in prima instantia*, i. e. at the first blush, can discern them without, or before they apply them either to scripture or reason; just as a

The Spirit contradicts not scripture nor right reason.

Natural demonstrations from astronomy and geometry.

good *astronomer* can calculate an eclipse infallibly, by which he can conclude (if the order of nature continue, and some strange and unnatural revolution intervene not) there will be an eclipse of the sun or moon such a day, and such an hour; yet can he not persuade an ignorant rustic of this, until he visibly see it. So also a *mathematician* can infallibly know, by the rules of art, that the three angles of a right triangle are equal to two right angles; yea, can know them more certainly than any man by measure. And some *geometrical demonstrations* are by all acknowledged to be infallible, which can be scarcely discerned or proved by the senses; yet if a *geometer* be at the pains to certify some ignorant man concerning the certainty of his art, by condescending to measure it, and make it obvious to his senses, it will not thence follow, that that measuring is so certain as the demonstration itself, or that the demonstration would be uncertain without it.

§. XVI. But to make an end, I shall add one argument to prove, that this inward, immediate, objective revelation, which we have pleaded for all along, is the only sure, certain, and unmoveable foundation of all *Christian faith;* which argument, when well weighed, I hope will have weight with all sorts of Christians, and it is this:

Immediate revelation the immoveable foundation of all Christian faith.

That which all professors of *Christianity*, of what kind soever, are forced ultimately to recur unto, when pressed to the last; that for and because of which all other foundations are recommended, and accounted worthy to be believed, and without which they are granted to be of no weight at all, must needs be the only most true, certain, and unmoveable foundation of all Christian faith.

But inward, immediate, objective revelation by the Spirit, is that which all professors of *Christianity*, of what kind soever, are forced ultimately to recur unto, &c.

Therefore, &c.

The proposition is so evident, that it will not be denied; the assumption shall be proved by parts.

Papists foundation, their church and tradition, why?

And First, as to the *Papists*, they place their foundation in the judgment of the *church* and *tradition*. If we press them to say, Why they believe as the *church* doth? their answer is, *Because the church is always led by the infallible Spirit.* So here the *leading of the Spirit* is the utmost foundation. Again, if we ask them, Why we ought to trust *tradition?* they answer, *Because these traditions were delivered us by the doctors and fathers of the church; which doctors and fathers, by the revelation of the Holy Ghost, commanded the church to observe them.* Here again all ends in the revelation of the Spirit.

Protestants and Socinians make the scriptures their ground and foundation, why?

And for the *Protestants* and *Socinians*, both which acknowledge the scriptures to be the foundation and rule of their faith; the one as subjectively influenced by the Spirit of God to use them, the other as managing them with and by their own reason; ask both, or either of them, Why they trust in the *scriptures*, and take them to be their rule? their answer is, *Because we have in them the mind of God delivered unto us by those to whom these things were inwardly, immediately, and objectively revealed by the Spirit of God;* and not because this or that man wrote them, but because the *Spirit of God* dictated them.

Christians by name, and not by nature, hold revelation ceased contrary to scripture.

It is strange then that men should render that so uncertain and dangerous to follow, upon which alone the certain ground and foundation of their own faith is built; or that they should shut themselves out from that holy fellowship with God, which only is enjoyed in the Spirit, in which we are commanded both to walk and live.

If any reading these things find themselves moved, by the strength of these scripture-arguments, to assent and believe such revelations necessary, and yet find themselves strangers to them, which,

as I observed in the beginning, is the cause that this is so much gainsaid and contradicted, let them know, that it is not because it is ceased to become the privilege of every true Christian that they do not feel it, but rather because they are not so much Christians by nature as by name; and let such know, that the secret *light* which shines in the heart, and reproves unrighteousness, is the small beginning of the revelation of God's Spirit, which was first sent into the world to reprove it of sin, *John* xvi. 8. And as by forsaking iniquity thou comest to be acquainted with that heavenly voice in thy heart, thou shalt feel, as the old man, or the natural man, that savoureth not the things of God's kingdom, is put off, with his evil and corrupt affections and lusts; I say, thou shalt feel the new man, or the spiritual birth and babe raised, which hath its spiritual senses, and can see, feel, taste, handle, and smell the things of the Spirit; but till then the knowledge of things spiritual is but as an historical faith. But as the description of the light of the sun, or of curious colours to a blind man, who, though of the largest capacity, cannot so well understand it by the most acute and lively description, as a child can by seeing them; so neither can the natural man, of the largest capacity, by the best words, even scripture-words, so well understand the *mysteries of God's kingdom*, as the least and weakest child who tasteth them, by having them revealed *inwardly* and *objectively* by the Spirit.

Who wants his sight sees not the light.

Wait then for this in the small revelation of that pure light which first reveals things more known; and as thou becomest fitted for it, thou shalt receive more and more, and by a living experience easily refute their ignorance, who ask, How dost thou know that thou art actuated by the Spirit of God? Which will appear to thee a question no less ridiculous, than to ask one whose

eyes are open, How he knows the sun shines at noon-day? And though this be the surest and certainest way to answer all objections; yet by what is above written it may appear, that the mouths of all such opposers as deny this doctrine may be shut, by unquestionable and unanswerable reasons.

PROPOSITION III.

Concerning the Scriptures.

From these revelations of the Spirit of God to the saints, have proceeded the Scriptures of Truth, *which contain,*

I. A faithful *historical* account of the actings of God's people in divers ages; with many singular and remarkable providences attending them.

II. A prophetical account of several things, whereof some are already past, and some yet to come.

III. A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of *Christ*, held forth in divers precious declarations, exhortations, and sentences, which, by the moving of God's Spirit, were at several times, and upon sundry occasions, spoken and written unto some churches and their pastors.

Nevertheless, because they are only a declaration *of the* fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Yet because they give a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty: for as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify, That the Spirit is that Guide by

John xvi. 13. Rom. viii. 14.

which the saints are led into all Truth; therefore, according to the scriptures, the *Spirit* is the first and principal leader. Seeing then that we do therefore receive and believe the scriptures because they proceeded from the Spirit, for the very same reason is the Spirit more originally and principally the rule, according to the received maxim in the schools, *Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum est magis tale:* That for which a thing is such, that thing itself is more such.

The holy scriptures the most excellent writings in the world.

§. I. The former part of this proposition, though it needs no apology for itself, yet it is a good apology for us, and will help to sweep away that, among many other calumnies, wherewith we are often loaded, as if we were vilifiers and deniers of the scriptures; for in that which we affirm of them, it doth appear at what high rate we value them, accounting them, without all deceit or equivocation, the most excellent writings in the world; to which not only no other writings are to be preferred, but even in divers respects not comparable thereto. For as we freely acknowledge that their authority doth not depend upon the approbation or canons of any church or assembly; so neither can we subject them to the fallen, corrupt, and defiled reason of man: and therein as we do freely agree with the *Protestants* against the error of the *Romanists*, so on the other hand, we cannot go the length of such *Protestants* as make their authority to depend upon any virtue or power that is in the writings themselves; but we desire to ascribe all to that Spirit from which they proceeded.

We confess indeed there wants not a majesty in the style, a coherence in the parts, a good scope in the whole; but seeing these things are not discerned by the natural, but only by the spiritual man, it is the Spirit of God that must give us that belief

of the scriptures which may satisfy our consciences; therefore some of the chief among *Protestants*, both in their particular writings and public confessions, are forced to acknowledge this.

Calvin's testimony that the Scripture certainly is from the Spirit.

Hence *Calvin*, though he saith he is able to prove that if there be a God in heaven, these writings have proceeded from him, yet he concludes another knowledge to be necessary. *Instit. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. *sect.* 4.

"But if (saith he) we respect the consciences, "that they be not daily molested with doubts, and "hesitate not at every scruple, it is requisite that "this persuasion which we speak of be taken high-"er than human reason, judgment, or conjecture; "to wit, from the secret testimony of the Spirit." And again, "*To* those who ask, that *we prove unto* "*them, by reason, that* Moses *and the* prophets *were* "*inspired of God to speak*, I answer, That the testi-"mony of the Holy Spirit is more excellent than "all reason." And again, "Let this remain a firm "truth, that he only whom the Holy Spirit hath "persuaded, can repose himself on the scripture "with a true certainty." And lastly, "This then "is a judgment which cannot be begotten but by "an heavenly revelation, &c."

The confession of the French churches.

The same is also affirmed in the first public confession of the *French* churches, published in the year 1559. *Art.* 4. "We know these books to be "canonical, and the most certain rule of our faith, "not so much by the common accord and consent "of the church, as by the testimony and inward "persuasion of the Holy Spirit."

Churches of Holland assert the same.

Thus also in the 5th article of the confession of faith, of the churches of *Holland*, confirmed by the Synod of *Dort*. "We receive these books only "for holy and canonical,—not so much because "the church receives and approves them, as be-"cause the Spirit of God doth witness in our hearts "that they are of God."

Westminster confession the same.

And lastly, The *divines*, so called, at *Westminster*, who began to be afraid of, and guard against, the testimony of the Spirit, because they perceived a dispensation beyond that which they were under beginning to dawn, and to eclipse them; yet could they not get by this, though they have laid it down neither so clearly, distinctly, nor honestly as they that went before. It is in these words, Chap. 1. Sect. 5. "Nevertheless our full persuasion and as-"surance of the infallible truth thereof, is from "the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing wit-"ness by and with the Word in our hearts."

By all which it appeareth how necessary it is to seek the certainty of the scriptures from the Spirit, and no where else. The infinite janglings and endless contests of those that seek their authority elsewhere, do witness to the truth hereof.

Apocrypha.

Conc. Laod. Can. 58. in Cod. Ec. 163. Conc. Laod. held in the year 364. excluded from the canon Eccl. the Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Tobias, the Maccabees, which the council of Carthage, held in the year 399, received.

For the ancients themselves, even of the first centuries, were not agreed among themselves concerning them; while some of them rejected books which we approve, and others of them approved those which some of us reject. It is not unknown to such as are in the least acquainted with antiquity, what great contests are concerning the second epistle of *Peter*, that of *James*, the second and third of *John*, and the *Revelations*, which many, even very ancient, deny to have been written by the beloved disciple and brother of *James*, but by another of that name. What should then become of Christians, if they had not received that Spirit, and those spiritual senses, by which they know how to discern the *true* from the *false?* It is the privilege of Christ's sheep indeed that they hear his voice, and refuse that of a stranger; which privilege being taken away, we are left a prey to all manner of wolves.

§. II. Though then we do acknowledge the scriptures to be very heavenly and divine writings, the use of them to be very comfortable and necessary to the church of Christ, and that we also admire and give praise to the Lord, for his wonderful providence in preserving these writings so pure and uncorrupted as we have them, through so long a night of apostacy, to be a testimony of his truth against the wickedness and abominations even of those whom he made instrumental in preserving them, so that they have kept them to be a witness against themselves; yet we may not call them the principal fountain of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the first adequate rule of faith and manners; *because the principal* fountain of truth must be the *Truth itself; i. e.* that whose certainty and authority depends not upon another. When we doubt of the streams of any river or flood, we recur to the fountain itself; and having found it, there we desist, we can go no farther, because there it springs out of the bowels of the earth, which are inscrutable. Even so the writings and sayings of all men we must bring to the Word of God, I mean the Eternal Word, and if they agree hereunto, we stand there. For this Word always proceedeth, and doth eternally proceed from God, in and by which the unsearchable wisdom of God, and unsearchable counsel and will conceived in the heart of God, is revealed unto us. That then the scripture is not the principal ground of faith and knowledge, as it appears by what is above spoken, so it is proved in the latter part of the proposition; which being reduced to an argument, runs thus:

The Scriptures are not the principal ground of truth.

That whereof the certainty and authority depends upon another, and which is received as truth because of its proceeding from another, is not to be accounted the principal ground and origin of all truth and knowledge:

But the scriptures' authority and certainty depend upon the Spirit by which they were dictated; and the reason why they were received as truth is, because they proceeded from the Spirit:

Therefore they are not the principal ground of truth.

To confirm this argument, I added the school maxim, *Propter quod unumquodque est tale, illud ipsum magis est tale.* Which maxim, though I confess it doth not hold universally in all things, yet in this it doth and will very well hold, as by applying it, as we have above intimated, will appear.

Neither are they the primary rule of faith and manners.

The same argument will hold as to the other branch of the proposition, *That it is not the primary adequate rule of faith and manners;* thus,

That which is not the rule of my faith in believing the scriptures themselves, is not the primary adequate rule of faith and manners:

But the scripture is not, nor can it be, the rule of that faith by which I believe them, &c.

Therefore, &c.

That the Spirit is the rule.

But as to this part we shall produce divers arguments hereafter. As to what is affirmed, that the *Spirit*, and *not the scriptures, is the rule*, it is largely handled in the former proposition; the sum whereof I shall subsume in one argument, thus,

If by the Spirit we can only come to the true knowledge of God; if by the Spirit we are to be led into all truth, and so be taught of all things; then the Spirit, and not the scriptures, is the foundation and ground of all truth and knowledge, and the primary rule of faith and manners:

But the first is true, therefore also the last.

Next, the very nature of the gospel itself declareth that the scriptures cannot be the *only* and *chief rule* of *Christians*, else there should be no difference betwixt the *law* and the *gospel;* as from the nature of the new covenant, by divers scrip-

tures described in the former proposition, is proved.

But besides these which are before mentioned, herein doth the *law* and the *gospel* differ, in that the *law*, being outwardly written, brings under *condemnation*, but hath *not life* in it to *save;* whereas the *gospel*, as it declares and makes manifest the evil, so, being an inward powerful thing, it gives power also to obey, and deliver from the evil. Hence it is called Εὐαγγέλιον, which is *glad tidings.* The *law* or *letter*, which is without us, *kills;* but the *gospel*, which is the *inward* spiritual *law*, gives *life;* for it consists not so much in words as in virtue. Wherefore such as come to know it, and be acquainted with it, come to feel greater power over their iniquities than all outward laws or rules can give them. Hence the apostle concludes, *Rom.* vi. 14. *Sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace.* This grace then that is *inward*, and not an *outward* law, is to be the rule of Christians. Hereunto the apostle commends the elders of the church, saying, *Acts* xx. 32. *And now, Brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified.* He doth not commend them here to outward laws or writings, but to the *word of grace*, which is inward; even the *spiritual law*, which makes free, as he elsewhere affirms, *Rom.* viii. 2. *The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death.* This spiritual law is that which the apostle declares he preached and directed people unto, which was not outward, as by *Rom.* x. 8. is manifest; where distinguishing it from the law, he saith, *The word is nigh thee, in thy heart, and in thy mouth; and this is the word of faith which we preach.* From what is above said I argue thus:

Wherein the law & gospel differ.

The principal rule of *Christians* under the gospel is not an outward letter, nor law outwardly written and delivered, but an inward spiritual law, *engraven in the heart, the law of the Spirit of life, the word that is nigh in the heart and in the mouth.*

But the letter of the scripture is outward, of itself a dead thing, a mere declaration of good things, but not the things themselves:

Therefore it is not, nor can be, the chief or principal rule of Christians.

The scripture not the rule.

§. III. Thirdly, That which is given to *Christians* for a rule and guide, must needs be so full, that it may clearly and distinctly guide and order them in all things and occurrences that may fall out.

But in that there are numberless things, with regard to their circumstances, which particular Christians may be concerned in, for which there can be no particular rule had in the scriptures;

Therefore the scriptures cannot be a rule to them.

I shall give an instance in two or three particulars to prove this proposition. It is not to be doubted but some men are particularly called to some particular services; their being not found in which, though the act be no general positive duty, yet in so far as it may be required of them, is a great sin to omit; forasmuch as God is zealous of his glory, and every act of disobedience to his will manifested, is enough not only to hinder one greatly from that comfort and inward peace which otherwise he might have, but also bringeth condemnation.

As for instance, Some are called to the ministry of the word: *Paul* saith, *There was a necessity upon him to preach the gospel; wo unto me, if I preach not.*

If it be necessary that there be now ministers of the church, as well as then, then there is the same necessity upon some, more than upon others, to occupy this place; which necessity, as it may be in-

cumbent upon particular persons, the scripture neither doth nor can declare.

If it be said, *That the qualifications of a minister are found in the scripture, and by applying these qualifications to myself, I may know whether I be fit for such a place or not;* Object.

I answer, The qualifications of a *bishop*, or *minister*, as they are mentioned both in the epistle to *Timothy* and *Titus*, are such as may be found in a private Christian; yea, which ought in some measure to be in every true Christian: so that this giveth a man no certainty. Every capacity to an office giveth me not a sufficient call to it. Answ.

Next again, By what rule shall I judge if I be so qualified? How do I know that I am *sober, meek, holy, harmless?* Is it not the testimony of the Spirit in my *conscience* that must assure me hereof? And suppose that I was qualified and called, yet what scripture-rule shall inform me, Whether it be my duty to preach in this or that place, in *France* or *England*, *Holland* or *Germany?* Whether I shall take up my time in confirming the faithful, reclaiming heretics, or converting infidels, as also in writing epistles to this or that church?

The general rules of the scripture, viz. *To be diligent in my duty, to do all to the glory of God, and for the good of his church*, can give me no light in this thing. Seeing two different things may both have a respect to that way, yet may I commit a great error and offence in doing the one, when I am called to the other. If *Paul*, when his face was turned by the Lord toward *Jerusalem*, had gone back to *Achaia* or *Macedonia*, he might have supposed he could have done God more acceptable service, in preaching and confirming the churches, than in being shut up in prison in *Judea;* but would God have been pleased herewith? Nay certainly. *Obedience is better than sacrifice;* and it is not our doing that which is good simply that pleaseth God, but that

good which he willeth us to do. Every member hath its particular place in the body, as the apostle showeth, 1 *Cor.* xii. If then, I being the foot, should offer to exercise the office of the hand; or being the hand, that of the tongue; my service would be troublesome, and not acceptable; and instead of helping the body, I should make a *schism* in it. So that that which is good for another to do, may be sinful to me; for as masters will have their servants to obey them, according to their good pleasure, and not only in blindly doing that which may seem to them to tend to their master's profit, whereby it may chance (the master having business both in the field and in the house) that the servant that knows not his master's will may go to the field, when it is the mind of the master he should stay and do the business of the house, would not this servant then deserve a reproof, for not answering his master's mind? And what master is so sottish and careless, as, having many servants, to leave them in such disorder as not to assign each his particular station, and not only the general terms of doing that which is profitable? which would leave them in various doubts, and no doubt end in confusion.

That which is good for one to do, may be sinful to another.

Shall we then dare to ascribe unto Christ, in the ordering of his church and servants, that which in man might justly be accounted disorder and confusion? The apostle showeth this distinction well, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. *Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us; whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation.* Now what scripture-rule showeth me that I ought to exhort, rather than prophesy? or to minister, rather than teach? Surely none at all. Many more difficulties of this kind occur in the life of a Christian.

Diversities of gifts.

Moreover, that which of all things is most need-

ful for him to know, to wit, whether he really be in the faith, and an heir of salvation, or not, the scripture can give him no certainty in, neither can it be a rule to him. That this knowledge is exceedingly desirable and comfortable all do unanimously acknowledge; besides that it is especially commanded, 2 *Cor.* xiii. 5. *Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith, prove yourselves; know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?* And 2. *Pet.* i. 10. *Wherefore the rather, brethren, give all diligence to make your calling and election sure.* Now I say, What scripture-rule can assure me that I have true faith? That my calling and election is sure?

Of faith and salvation can the scriptures assure thee?

If it be said, By comparing the scripture-marks of true faith with mine:

I demand, Wherewith shall I make this observation? What shall ascertain me that I am not mistaken? It cannot be the scripture: that is the matter under debate.

If it be said, *My own heart:*

How unfit a judge is it in its own case? And how like to be partial, especially if it be yet unrenewed? Doth not the scripture say, that *it is deceitful above all things?* I find the promises, I find the threatenings, in the scripture; but who telleth me that the one belongs to me more than the other? The scripture gives me a mere declaration of these things, but makes no application; so that the assumption must be of my own making, thus; as for example: I find this proposition in scripture;

The heart of man deceitful.

He that believes, shall be saved: thence I draw the assumption.

But I, *Robert, believe;*

Therefore, *I shall be saved.*

The *minor* is of my own making, not expressed in the scripture; and so a human conclusion, not a divine position; so that my faith and assurance

here is not built upon a scripture proposition, but upon an human principle; which, unless I be sure of elsewhere, the scripture gives me no certainty in the matter.

Again, If I should pursue the argument further, and seek a new *medium* out of the scripture, the same difficulty would occur: thus,

He that hath the true and certain marks of true faith, hath true faith:

But I have those marks:

Therefore I have true faith.

For the assumption is still here of my own making, and is not found in the scriptures; and by consequence the conclusion can be no better, since it still followeth the weaker proposition. This is indeed so pungent, that the best of *Protestants*, who plead for this assurance, ascribe it to the inward testimony of the Spirit; as *Calvin*, in that large citation, cited in the former proposition. So that, not to seek farther into the writings of the primitive *Protestants*, which are full of such expressions, even the *Westminster* confession of faith affirmeth, *Chap.* 18. *Sect.* 12. "This certainty is not a bare "conjecture and probable persuasion, grounded "upon fallible hope, but an infallible assurance of "faith, founded upon the divine truth of the prom-"ise of salvation; the inward evidences of these "graces, unto which these promises are made; the "testimony of the Spirit of adoption, witnessing to "our spirits that we are the children of God; "which Spirit is the *earnest* of our *inheritance*, "*whereby we are sealed to the day of redemption.*"

The inward testimony of the Spirit the seal of scripture-promises.

Moreover, the scripture itself, wherein we are so earnestly pressed to seek after this assurance, doth not at all affirm itself a rule sufficient to give it, but wholly ascribeth it to the Spirit, as *Rom.* viii. 16. *The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.* 1 John iv. 13. *Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he*

us, because he hath given us of his Spirit; and chap. v. 6. *And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth.*

That the scriptures are not the chief rule.

§ IV. Lastly, That cannot be the only, principal, nor chief rule, which doth not universally reach every individual that needeth it to produce the necessary effect; and from the use of which, either by some innocent and sinless defect, or natural yet harmless and blameless imperfection, many who are within the compass of the visible church, and may, without absurdity, yea, with great probability, be accounted of the elect, are necessarily excluded, and that either wholly, or at least from the immediate use thereof. But it so falls out frequently concerning the scriptures, in the case of deaf people, children, and idiots, who can by no means have the benefit of the scriptures. Shall we then affirm, that they are without any rule to Godward, or that they are all damned? As such an opinion is in itself very absurd, and inconsistent both with the justice and mercy of God, so I know no sound reason can be alleged for it. Now if we may suppose any such to be under the *new covenant dispensation*, as I know none will deny but that we may suppose it without any absurdity, we cannot suppose them without some rule and means of knowledge; seeing it is expressly affirmed, *They shall all be taught of God*, John vi. 45. *And they shall all know me from the least to the greatest*, Heb. viii. 11. But secondly, Though we were rid of this difficulty, how many illiterate and yet good men are there in the church of God, who cannot read a letter in their own mother tongue? Which imperfection, though it be inconvenient, I cannot tell whether we may safely affirm it to be sinful. These can have no immediate knowledge of the rule of their faith; so their faith must needs depend upon the credit of other men's reading or relating it unto them; where either the altering, adding, or omit-

1. Deaf people, children, and idiots instanced.

ting of a little word may be a foundation in the poor hearer of a very dangerous mistake, whereby he may either continue in some iniquity ignorantly, or believe a lie confidently. As for example, The *Papists* in all their catechisms, and public exercises of examinations towards the people, have boldly cut away the second command, because it seems so expressly to strike against their adoration and use of images; whereas many of these people, in whom by this omission this false opinion is fostered, are under a simple impossibility, or at least a very great difficulty, to be outwardly informed of this abuse. But further; suppose all could read the scriptures in their own language; where is there one of a thousand that hath that thorough knowledge of the original languages in which they are written, so as in that respect immediately to receive the benefit of them? Must not all these here depend upon the honesty and faithfulness of the interpreters? Which how uncertain it is for a man to build his faith upon, the many corrections, amendments, and various essays, which even among *Protestants* have been used, (whereof the latter have constantly blamed and corrected the former, as guilty of defects and errors,) doth sufficiently declare. And that even the last translators in the vulgar languages need to be corrected (as I could prove at large, were it proper in this place) learned men do confess.

2. Papists conceal the second commandment from the people.

3. The uncertainty of the interpreters of the scripture, and their adulterating it.

But last of all, there is no less difficulty occurs even to those skilled in the original languages, who cannot so immediately receive the mind of the authors in these writings, as that their faith doth not at least obliquely depend upon the honesty and credit of the transcribers, since the original copies are granted by all not to be now extant. Of which transcribers *Jerom* in his time complained, saying, *That they wrote not what they found, but what they understood.* And *Epiphanius* saith, *That*

Hieron. Epist. 28. ad Lucin. p. 247.

in the good and correct copies of Luke *it was written, that* Christ wept, *and that* Irenæus *doth cite it; but that the* Catholics *blotted it out, fearing lest heretics should have abused it.* Other fathers also declare, *that whole verses were taken out of* Mark, *because of the* Manichees. Epiph. in Anachor, tom. oper.

But further, the various readings of the *Hebrew character* by reason of the *points*, which some plead for, as coeval with the first writings, which others, with no less probability, allege to be a later invention; the disagreement of divers citations of Christ and the apostles with those passages in the Old Testament they appeal to; the great controversy among the fathers, whereof some highly approve the *Greek Septuagint*, decrying and rendering very doubtful the *Hebrew copy*, as in many places vitiated, and altered by the *Jews;* other some, and particularly *Jerom*, exalting the certainty of the *Hebrew*, and rejecting, yea even deriding, the history of the *Septuagint*, which the primitive church chiefly made use of; and some fathers that lived centuries before him, affirmed to be a most certain thing; and the many various readings in divers copies of the *Greek*, and the great altercations among the fathers of the first three centuries, who had greater opportunity to be better informed than we can now lay claim to, concerning the books to be admitted or rejected, as is above observed; I say, all these and much more which might be alleged, puts the minds even of the learned into infinite doubts, scruples, and inextricable difficulties: whence we may very safely conclude, that Jesus Christ, who promised to be *always* with his children, to lead them into *all truth*, to guard them against the devices of the enemy, and to establish their faith upon an *unmoveable rock*, left them not to be principally ruled by that, which was subject in itself to many uncertainties: and therefore he gave them his *Spirit*, as their princi- The various readings of the Hebrew character, &c.

pal guide, which neither moths nor time can
out, nor transcribers nor translators corrupt; w
none are so young, none so illiterate, none in s
mote a place but they may come to be rea
and rightly informed by it.

Through and by the clearness which that
it gives us it is that we are only best rid of
difficulties that occur to us concerning the s
tures. The real and undoubted experience w
of I myself have been a witness of, with grea
miration of the love of God to his children in
latter days: for I have known some of my fri
who profess the same faith with me, faithfu
vants of the Most High God, and full of d
knowledge of his truth, as it was immedi
and inwardly revealed to them by the Spirit,
a true and living experience, who not only
ignorant of the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, but even
of them could not read their own vulgar lang
who, being pressed by their adversaries with
citations out of the *English* translation, and
ing them to disagree with the manifestati
truth in their own hearts, have boldly affi
the Spirit of God never said so, and that i
certainly wrong; for they did not believe
any of the holy prophets or apostles had
written so; which when I on this account seri
examined, I really found to be errors and co
tions of the translators; who (as in most tr
tions) do not so much give us the genuine s
cation of the words, as strain them to expres
which comes nearest to that opinion and
they have of truth. And this seemed to me
very well with that saying of *Augustine*, *Epi*
ad Hier. Tom. ii. *fol.* 14. after he has said, "
"he gives only that honour to those books
"are called *canonical*, as to believe that th
"thors thereof did in writing not err," he
"And if I shall meet with any thing in thes

Wrong translations of scripture discerned in the Spirit by the unlearned in letters.

tings that seemeth repugnant to truth, I shall not doubt to say, that either the volume is faulty or erroneous; that the expounder hath not reached what was said; or that I have in no wise understood it." So that he supposes that in the transcription and translation there may be errors.

§. V. If it be then asked me, *Whether I think hereby to render the scriptures altogether uncertain, or useless;* Object.

I answer; Not at all. The proposition itself declares how much I esteem them; and provided that to the Spirit from which they came be but granted that place the scriptures themselves give it, I do freely concede to the scriptures the second place, even whatsoever they say of themselves; which the apostle *Paul* chiefly mentions in two places, *Rom.* xv. 4. *Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.* 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. *The holy scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Jesus Christ. All scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work.* Answ.

For though God doth principally and chiefly lead us by his Spirit, yet he sometimes conveys his comfort and consolation to us through his children, whom he raises up and inspires to speak or write a word in season, whereby the saints are made instruments in the hand of the Lord to strengthen and encourage one another, which doth also tend to perfect and make them wise unto salvation; and such as are led by the Spirit cannot neglect, but do naturally love, and are wonderfully cherished by, that which proceedeth from the same Spirit in another; beacuse such mutual emanations of the heavenly life tend to quicken the mind, The saints mutual comfort is the same Spirit in all.

when at any time it is overtaken with heaviness. *Peter* himself declares this to have been the end of his writing, 2. *Pet.* i. 12, 13. *Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth; yea, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance.*

God is teacher of his people himself; and there is nothing more express, than that such as are under the new covenant, *need no man to teach them:* yet it was a fruit of Christ's ascension to send teachers and pastors for perfecting of the saints. So that the same work is ascribed to the scriptures as to teachers; the one to make the man of God perfect, the other for the perfection of the saints.

As then teachers are not to go before the teaching of God himself under the new covenant, but to follow after it; neither are they to rob us of that great privilege which Christ hath purchased unto us by his blood; so neither is the scripture to go before the teaching of the Spirit, or to rob us of it.

Ans. 2. Secondly, God hath seen meet that herein we should, as in a looking-glass, see the conditions and experiences of the saints of old; that finding our experience answer to theirs, we might thereby be the more confirmed and comforted, and our hope of obtaining the same end strengthened; that observing the providences attending them, seeing the snares they were liable to, and beholding their deliverances, we may thereby be made wise unto salvation, and seasonably reproved and instructed in righteousness.

The scriptures a looking glass.

This is the great work of the scriptures, and their service to us, that we may witness them fulfilled in us, and so discern the stamp of God's Spirit and ways upon them, by the inward acquaintance

The scriptures' work and service.

we have with the same Spirit and work in our hearts. The prophecies of the scriptures are also very comfortable and profitable unto us, as the same Spirit enlightens us to observe them fulfilled, and to be fulfilled; for in all this it is to be observed, that it is only the Spirit of man that can make a right use of them: they are able to make the man of God perfect, (so it is not the natural man,) and whatsoever was written aforetime, was written *for our comfort*, [our] that are the believers, [our] that are the saints; concerning such the apostle speaks: for as for the others, the apostle *Peter* plainly declares, that the *unstable and unlearned wrest them to their condestruction*: these were they that were *unlearned* in the divine and heavenly *learning of the Spirit*, not in human and school literature; in which we may safely presume that *Peter* himself, being a fisherman, had no skill; for it may with great probability, yea certainty, be affirmed, that he had no knowledge of *Aristotle's* logic, which both *Papists* and *Protestants* now,* degenerating from the simplicity of truth, make the handmaid of divinity, as they call it, and a necessary introduction to their carnal, natural, and human ministry. By the infinite obscure labours of which kind of men, intermixing their heathenish stuff, the scripture is rendered at this day *so little* service to the simple people; whereof *if Jerome* complained in his time, now twelve hundred years ago, *Hierom. Epist.* 134. *ad Cypr. Tom.* 3. saying, *It is wont to befall the most part of learned men, that it is harder to understand their expositions, than the things which they go about to expound;* what may we say then, considering those great heaps of commentaries since, in ages yet far more corrupted?

Logic.

* 1675.

§. VI. In this respect above-mentioned then, we have shown what service and use the holy scriptures, as managed in and by the Spirit, are of to

The scriptures a secondary rule

the church of God; wherefore we do account them a secondary rule. Moreover, because they are commonly acknowledged by all to have been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and that the errors which may be supposed by the injury of times to have slipped in, are not such but that there is a sufficient clear testimony left to all the essentials of the Christian faith; we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians; and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimony, may therefore justly be rejected as false. And for our parts, we are very willing that all our doctrines and practices be tried by them; which we never refused, nor ever shall, in all controversies with our adversaries, as the judge and test. We shall also be very willing to admit it as a positive certain maxim, *That whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil.* For as we never lay claim to the Spirit's leadings, that we may cover ourselves in any thing that is evil; so we know, that as every evil contradicts the scriptures, so it doth also the Spirit in the first place, from which the scriptures came, and whose motions can never contradict one another, though they may appear sometimes to be contradictory to the blind eye of the natural man, as *Paul* and *James* seem to contradict one another.

Thus far we have shown both what we believe, and what we believe not, concerning the holy scriptures, hoping we have given them their due place. But since they that will needs have them to be the only, certain, and principal rule, want not some show of arguments, even from the scripture itself, (though it no where calls itself so,) by which they labour to prove their doctrine; I shall briefly lay them down by way of objections, and answer them, before I make an end of this matter.

§. VII. Their first objection is usually drawn from *Isaiah* viii. 20. *To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.* Now this *law*, *testimony*, and *word*, they plead to be the scriptures. Obj.

To which I answer, That that is to beg the thing in question, and remain unproved. Nor do I know for what reason we may not safely affirm this *law* and *word* to be *inward*: but suppose it was *outward*, it proves not the case at all for them, neither makes it against us: for it may be confessed, without any prejudice to our cause, that the outward law was more particularly to the *Jews* a rule, and more principally than to us; seeing their law was outward and literal, but ours, under the new covenant, (as hath been already said,) is expressly affirmed to be *inward* and *spiritual*; so that this scripture is so far from making against us, that it makes for us. For if the *Jews* were directed to try all things by their law, which was without them, written in tables of stone; then if we will have this advice of the prophet to reach us, we must make it hold parallel to that dispensation of the gospel which we are under: so that we are to try all things, in the first place, by that *word of faith* which is preached unto us, which the apostle saith is *in the heart*; and by that law which God hath given us, which the apostle saith also expressly *is written and placed in the mind.* Answ. To try all things, by what?

Lastly, If we look to this place according to the *Greek* interpretation of the *Septuagint*, our adversaries shall have nothing from thence to carp; yea, it will favour us much; for there it is said, that *the law is given us for an help*; which very well agrees with what is above asserted.

Their second objection is from *John* v. 39. *Search the scriptures, &c.* Obj. 2.

Here, say they, *we are commanded* by Christ himself, *to search the scriptures.*

Ans. 1. I answer, First, That the scriptures ought to be searched, we do not at all deny; but are very willing to be tried by them, as hath been above declared: but the question is, *Whether they be the only and principal rule?* Which this is so far from proving, that it proveth the contrary; for Christ checks them here for too high an esteem of the scriptures, and neglecting of him that was to be preferred before them, and to whom they bore witness, as the following words declare; *for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me: and ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life.* This shows, that while they thought they had eternal life in the scriptures, they neglected to come unto Christ to have life, of which the scriptures bore witness. This answers well to our purpose, since our adversaries now do also exalt the scriptures, and think to have life in them; which is no more than to look upon them as the only principal rule and way to life, and yet refuse to come unto the Spirit of which they testify, even the inward spiritual law, which could give them life: so that the cause of this people's ignorance and unbelief was not their want of respect to the scriptures, which though they knew, and had an high esteem of, yet Christ testifies in the former verses, that they had neither *seen the Father, nor heard his voice at any time; neither had his word abiding in them;* which had they then had, then they had believed in the Son. Moreover, that place may be taken in the indicative mood, *Ye search the scriptures;* which interpretation the *Greek* word will bear, and so *Pasor* translateth it: which, by the reproof following, seemeth also to be the more genuine interpretation, as *Cyrillus* long ago hath observed.

Search the scriptures, &c

Ans. 2.

§. VIII. Their third objection is from these words, *Acts.* xvii. 11. *These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so.* Obj.

Here, say they, *the Bereans are commended for searching the scriptures, and making them the rule.*

I answer, That the scriptures either are the principal or only rule, will not at all follow from this; neither will their searching the scriptures, or being commended for it, infer any such thing: for we recommend and approve the use of them in that respect as much as any can, will it not follow, that we affirm them to be the principal and only rule. Ans. 1.

Secondly, It is to be observed that these were the *Jews* of *Berea*, to whom these scriptures, which were the law and the prophets, were more particularly a rule; and the thing under examination was, whether the birth, life, works, and sufferings of Christ, did answer to the prophecies that went before of him; so that it was most proper for them, being *Jews*, to examine the apostle's doctrine by the scriptures; seeing he pleaded it to be a fulfilling of them. It is said nevertheless, in the first place, That *they received the word with cheerfulness;* and in the second place, *They searched the scriptures:* not that they searched the scriptures, and then received the word; for then could they not have prevailed to convert them, had they not first minded the *word abiding in them*, which opened their understandings no more than the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who (as in the former objection we observed) searched the scriptures, and exalted them, and yet remained in their unbelief, because they had not the *word abiding in them*. Ans. 2.

The Bereans searching the scriptures makes them not the only rule to try doctrines.

But lastly, If this commendation of the *Jewish Bereans* might infer that the scriptures were the only and principal rule to try the apostle's doctrine Ans. 3.

by, what should have become of the *Gentiles?* How should they ever have come to have received the faith of Christ, who neither knew the scriptures, nor believed them? We see in the end of the same chapter, how the apostle, preaching to the *Athenians*, took another method, and directed them to somewhat of *God within* themselves, that they might *feel after him.* He did not go about to proselyte them to the *Jewish religion*, and to the belief of the *law* and the *prophets*, and from thence to prove the coming of Christ; nay, he took a nearer way. Now certainly the principal and only rule is not different; one to the *Jews*, and another to the *Gentiles;* but is *universal*, reaching both: though secondary and subordinate rules and means may be various, and diversely suited, according as the people they are used to are stated and circumstantiated: even so we see that the apostle to the *Athenians* used a testimony of one of their own poets, which he judged would have credit with them; and no doubt such testimonies, whose authors they esteemed, had more weight with them than all the sayings of *Moses* and the *prophets*, whom they neither knew nor would have cared for. Now because the apostle used the testimony of a poet to the *Athenians*, will it therefore follow he made that the principal or only rule to try his doctrine by? So neither will it follow, that though he made use of the scriptures to the *Jews*, as being a principle already believed by them, to try his doctrine, that from thence the scriptures may be accounted the principal or only rule.

The Athenians instanced.

§. IX. The last, and that which at first view seems to be the greatest objection, is this:

Obj. 4. *If the scripture be not the adequate, principal, and only rule, then it would follow that the scripture is not complete, nor the canon filled; that if men be now immediately led and ruled by the Spirit, they may add new*

scriptures of equal authority with the old; whereas every one that adds is cursed: yea, what assurance have we, but at this rate every one may bring in a new gospel according to his fancy?

The dangerous consequences insinuated in this objection were fully answered in the latter part of the last proposition, in what was said a little before, offering freely to disclaim all pretended revelations contrary to the scriptures. Answ.

But if it be urged, *That it is not enough to deny these consequences, if they naturally follow from your doctrine of immediate revelation, and denying the scripture to be the only rule;* Obj. 1.

I answer, We have proved both the doctrines to be true and necessary, according to the scriptures themselves; and therefore to fasten evil consequences upon them, which we make appear do not follow, is not to accuse us, but Christ and his apostles, who preached them. Ans. 1.

But secondly, we have shut the door upon all such doctrine in this very position; affirming, *That the scriptures give a full and ample testimony to all the principal doctrines of the Christian faith.* For we do firmly believe that there is no other gospel or doctrine to be preached, but that which was delivered by the apostles; and do freely subscribe to that saying, *Let him that preacheth any other gospel, than that which hath been already preached by the apostles, and according to the scriptures, be accursed.* Ans. 2. Gal. i. 8.

So we distinguish betwixt a revelation of a *new gospel*, and *new doctrines*, and a *new revelation* of the *good old gospel* and *doctrines;* the last we plead for, but the first we utterly deny. For we firmly believe, That *no other foundation can any man lay, than that which is laid already.* But that this revelation is necessary we have already proved; and this distinction doth sufficiently guard us against the hazard insinuated in the objection. A new revelation is not a new gospel.

Books canonical.

As to the scriptures being a *filled canon*, I see no necessity of believing it. And if these men, that believe the scriptures to be the only rule, will be consistent with their own doctrine, they must needs be of my judgment; seeing it is simply impossible to prove the canon by the scriptures. For it cannot be found in any book of the scriptures, that these books, and just these, and no other, are canonical, as all are forced to acknowledge; how can they then evite this argument?

That which cannot be proved by scripture is no necessary article of faith.

But the canon of the scripture, to wit, that there are so many books precisely, neither more nor less, cannot be proved by scripture:

Therefore, it is no necessary article of faith.

Obj. 2. If they should allege, *That the admitting of any other books to be now written by the same Spirit, might infer the admission of new doctrines;*

I deny that consequence; for the principal or fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, are contained in the tenth part of the scripture; but it will not follow thence that the rest are impertinent or useless. If it should please God to bring to us any of those books, which by the injury of time are lost, which are mentioned in the scripture; as, *The Prophecy of Enoch; the Book of Nathan, &c.* or, *the Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians;* I see no reason why we ought not to receive them, and place them with the rest. That which displeaseth me is, that men should first affirm that the scripture is the only and principal rule, and yet make a great article of faith of that which the scripture can give us no light in.

Books lost.

As for instance: How shall a *Protestant* prove by scripture, to such as deny the Epistle of *James* to be authentic, that it ought to be received?

First, If he would say, *Because it contradicts not the rest*, (besides that there is no mention of it in

any of the rest,) perhaps these men think it doth contradict *Paul* in relation to *faith* and *works*. But, if that should be granted, it would as well follow, that every writer that contradicts not the scripture, should be put into the canon; and by this means these men fall into a greater absurdity than they fix upon us: for thus they would equal every one the writings of their own sect with the scriptures; for I suppose they judge their own confession of faith doth not contradict the scriptures: Will it therefore follow that it should be bound up with the bible? And yet it seems impossible, according to their principles, to bring any better argument to prove the Epistle of *James* to be authentic. There is then this unavoidable necessity to say, We know it by the same Spirit from which it was written; or otherwise to step back to *Rome*, and say, We know by tradition that the church hath declared it to be canonical; and the church is infallible. Let them find a mean, if they can. So that out of this objection we shall draw an unanswerable argument *ad hominem*, to our purpose.

Whether the Epistle of James be authentic, and how to know it.

That which cannot assure me concerning an article of faith necessary to be believed, is not the primary, adequate, only rule of faith, &c.

Therefore, &c.

I prove the assumption thus:

That which cannot assure me concerning the canon of the scripture, to wit, that such books are only to be admitted, and the *Apocrypha* excluded, cannot assure me of this.

Therefore, &c.

Obj. 3. And lastly, As to these words, *Rev.* xxii. 18. *That if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book;* I desire they will show me how it relates to any thing else than to that particular prophecy. It saith not, *Now the canon of the scripture*

Answ.

is filled up, no man is to write more from the Spirit; yea, do not all confess that there have been prophecies and true prophets since? The *Papists* deny it not. And do not the *Protestants* affirm, that *John Hus* prophesied of the *reformation?* Was he therefore cursed? Or did he therein evil? I could give many other examples, confessed by themselves. But, moreover, the same was in effect commanded long before, *Prov.* xxx. 6. *Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar:* Yet how many books of the prophets were written after? And the same was said by *Moses, Deut.* iv. 2. *Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you; neither shall ye diminish aught from it.* So that, though we should extend that of the *revelation* beyond the particular prophecy of that book, it cannot be understood but of a new gospel, or new doctrines, or of restraining man's spirit, that he mix not his human words with the divine; and not of *a new revelation of the old,* as we have said before.

What it means to add to the scriptures.

PROPOSITION IV.

Concerning the Condition of Man in the Fall.

All *Adam's* posterity, or mankind, both *Jews* and *Gentiles,* as to the first *Adam,* or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated, and dead; deprived of the sensation or feeling of this *inward testimony* or seed of God; and is subject unto the power, nature, and seed of the serpent, which he soweth in men's hearts, while they abide in this natural and corrupted estate; from whence it comes, that not only their words and deeds, but all their imaginations, are evil perpetually in the sight of God, as proceeding from this depraved and wicked seed. Man therefore, as he is in this state, can know nothing aright; yea,

Rom. v. 12, 15

his thoughts and conceptions, concerning *God* and things *spiritual*, until he be disjoined from this evil seed, and united to the *Divine Light*, are unprofitable both to himself and others. Hence are rejected the *Socinian* and *Pelagian* errors, in exalting a natural light; as also of the *Papists*, and most *Protestants*, who [illegible] *That man, without the true grace of God, may be a true minister of the gospel.* Nevertheless, this seed is not imputed to infants, until by transgression they actually join themselves therewith; for they are by nature *the children of wrath*, who walk according to the *power of the prince of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience*, having their conversation in the lusts of the flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh, and of the mind.

Eph. ii.

§. I. Hitherto we have discoursed how the true knowledge of God is attained and preserved; also of what use and service the holy scripture is to the saints.

We come now to examine *the state and condition of man as he stands in the fall; what his capacity and power is; and how far he is able, as of himself, to advance in relation to the things of God.* Of this we touched a little in the beginning of the second proposition; but the full, right, and thorough understanding of it is of great use and service; because from the ignorance and altercations that have been about it, there have arisen great and dangerous errors, both on the one hand and on the other. While some do so far exalt the light of nature, or the faculty of the natural man, as capable of himself, by virtue of the inward will, faculty, light, and power, that pertains to his nature, to follow that which is good, and make real progress towards heaven: And of these are the *Pelagians*, and *Semi-Pelagians* of old; and of late the *Socinians*, and divers others among the *Papists*.

Augustine's zeal against Pelagius.

Others again will needs run into another extreme, (to whom *Augustine*, among the ancients, first made way in his declining age, through the heat of his zeal against *Pelagius*,) not only confessing man incapable of himself to do good, and prone to evil; but that in his very mother's womb, and before he commits any actual transgression, he is contaminate with a real guilt, whereby he deserves eternal death: in which respect they are not afraid to affirm, *That many poor infants are eternally damned, and forever endure the torments of hell.* Therefore the God of truth, having now again revealed his truth (that good and even way) by his own Spirit, hath taught us to avoid both these extremes.

That then which our proposition leads to treat of is,

I. First, *What the condition of man is in the fall; and how far incapable to meddle in the things of God.*

II. And secondly, *That God doth not impute this evil to infants, until they actually join with it:* that so, by establishing the truth, we may overturn the errors on both parts.

III. And as for that Third thing included in the proposition itself, concerning these *teachers* which *want the grace of God*, we shall refer that to the tenth proposition, where the matter is more particularly handled.

Part I. §. II. As to the first, not to dive into the many curious notions which many have concerning the *condition of* Adam *before the fall*, all agree in this, That thereby he came to a very great loss, not only in the things which related to the outward man, but in regard of that true fellowship and communion he had with God. This loss was signified unto him in the command, *For in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die*, *Gen.* ii. 17. This death could not be an outward death, or the dissolution of the outward man; for as to that, he

Adam's fall.

did not die yet many hundred years after; so that it must needs respect his spiritual life and communion with God. The consequence of this fall, besides that which relates to the fruits of the earth, is also expressed, Gen. iii. 24. *So he drove out the man, and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubim, and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.* Now whatsoever literal signification this may have, we may safely ascribe to this paradise a mystical signification, and truly account it that spiritual communion and fellowship, which the saints obtain with God by Jesus Christ; to whom only these cherubims give way, and unto as many as enter by him, who calls *himself* the *Door*. So that, though we do not ascribe any whit of *Adam's* guilt to men until they make it theirs by the like acts of disobedience; yet we cannot suppose that men, who are come of *Adam* naturally, can have any good thing in their nature, as belonging to it; which he, from whom they derive their nature, had not himself to communicate unto them.

Guilt not ascribed to Adam's posterity.

If then we may affirm, that *Adam* did not retain in his nature (as belonging thereunto) any will or light capable to give him knowledge in spiritual things, then neither can his posterity: for whatsoever real good any man doth, it proceedeth not from his nature, as he is man, or the son of *Adam;* but from the *seed of God in him*, as a new visitation of life, in order to bring him out of this natural condition: so that, though it be *in him*, yet it is not *of him;* and this the Lord himself witnessed, Gen. vi. 5. where it is said, he *saw that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually:* which words as they are very positive, so are they very comprehensive. Observe the emphasis of them; First, There is *every imagination of the thoughts of his heart;* so that this admits

Every imagination of the natural man is evil.

of no exception of any imagination of the thoughts of his heart. Secondly, *Is only evil continually;* it is neither in *some part evil continually*, nor yet *only* evil *at some times;* but both *only* evil, and *always* and *continually* evil; which certainly excludes any good, as a proper effect of man's heart, naturally: for that which is only evil, and that always, cannot of its own nature produce any good thing. The Lord expressed this again a little after, chap. viii. 21. *The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth:* Thus inferring how natural and proper it is unto him; from which I thus argue:

If the thoughts of man's heart be not only evil, but always evil; then are they, as they simply proceed from his heart, neither good in part, nor at any time.

But the first is true; therefore the last.

Again,

If man's thoughts be always and only evil, then are they altogether useless and ineffectual to him in the things of God.

But the first is true; therefore the last.

The heart of man deceitful.

Secondly, This appears clearly from that saying of the prophet *Jeremiah*, chap. xvii. 9. *The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked.* For who can with any colour of reason imagine, that that which is so hath any power of itself, or is in any wise fit, to lead a man to righteousness, whereunto it is of its own nature directly opposite? This is as contrary to reason, as it is impossible in nature that a stone, of its own nature and proper motion, should fly upwards: for as a stone of its own nature inclineth and is prone to move downwards towards the centre, so the heart of man is naturally prone and inclined to evil, some to one, and some to another. From this then I also thus argue:

That which is *deceitful above all things, and desper-*

ately wicked, is not fit, neither can it lead a man aright in things that are good and honest.

But the heart of man is such :

Therefore, &c.

But the apostle *Paul* describeth the condition of men in the fall at large, taking it out of the *Psalmist*. *There is none righteous, no not one: there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are altogether become unprofitable; there is none that doth good, no not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre, with their tongues they have used deceit, the poison of asps is under their lips: whose mouths are full of cursing and bitterness. Their feet are swift to shed blood; destruction and misery are in their ways: and the way of peace have they not known. There is no fear of God before their eyes.* What more positive can be spoken? He seemeth to be particularly careful to avoid that any good should be ascribed to the natural man; he shows how he is polluted in all his ways; he shows how he is void of righteousness, of understanding, of the knowledge of God; how he is out of the way, and in short unprofitable; than which nothing can be more fully said to confirm our judgment: for if this be the condition of the natural man, or of the man as he stands in the fall, he is unfit to make one right step to heaven.

Rom. iii. 10. Psa. xiv. 3. & liii. 2, &c.

Man's estate in the fall.

If it be said, That is not spoken of the condition of man in general; but only of some particulars, or at the least that it comprehends not all; Object.

The text showeth the clear contrary in the foregoing verses, where the apostle takes in himself, as he stood in his natural condition. *What then? Are we better than they? No, in no wise; for we have before proved both* Jews *and* Gentiles, *that they are all under sin, as it is written:* and so he goes on; by which it is manifest that he speaks of mankind in general. Answ.

Object. If they object that which the same apostle saith in the foregoing chapter, ver. 14. to wit, That *the* Gentiles *do by nature the things contained in the law, and so consequently do by nature that which is good and acceptable in the sight of God;*

Ans. 1. I answer, this nature must not, neither can be understood of *man's own nature*, which is corrupt and fallen; but of the *spiritual nature*, which proceedeth from the *seed of God in man*, as it receiveth a new visitation of God's love, and is quickened by it: which clearly appears by the following words, where he saith, *These not having a law* (i. e.) outwardly, *are a law unto themselves; which shows the work of the law written in their hearts.* These acts of theirs then are an effect of the law written in their hearts; but the scripture declareth, that the writing of the law in the heart is a part, yea, and a great part too, of the new covenant dispensation, and so no consequence nor part of man's nature.

By what nature the Gentiles did do the things of the law.

Ans. 2. Secondly, If this nature here spoken of could be understood of man's own nature, which he hath as he is a man, then would the apostle unavoidably contradict himself; since he elsewhere positively declares, *That the natural man discerneth not the things of God, nor can.* Now I hope the law of God is among the things of God, especially as it is written in the heart. The apostle, in the viith chap. of the same epistle, saith, verse 12. that *the law is holy, just, and good;* and verse 14. the *law is spiritual, but he is carnal.* Now in what respect is he carnal, but as he stands in the fall unregenerate? Now what inconsistency would here be, to say, That he is carnal, and yet not so of his own nature, seeing it is from his nature that he is so denominated? We see the apostle contra-distinguisheth the law as spiritual, from man's nature as carnal and sinful. Wherefore, as Christ saith, There can no grapes be expected from thorns,

The natural man discerneth not, &c.

Mat. vii. 16.

nor figs of thistles; so neither can the fulfilling of the law, which is spiritual, holy, and just, be expected from that nature which is corrupt, fallen, and unregenerate. Whence we conclude, with good reason, that the nature here spoken of, by which the *Gentiles* are said to have done the *things contained in the law*, is not the *corrupt nature of man*; but that *spiritual nature* that ariseth from the works of the righteous and spiritual law that is written in the heart. I confess they of the other extreme, when they are pressed with this testimony by the *Socinians* and *Pelagians*, as well as by us when we use this scripture, to show them how some of the heathens, by the light of Christ in their heart, came to be saved, are very far to seek; giving this answer, That *there were some relics of the heavenly image left in* Adam, *by which the* heathens *could do some good things*. Which, as it is in itself without proof, so it contradicts their own assertions elsewhere, and gives away their cause. For if these relics were of force to enable them to fulfil the righteous law of God, it takes away the necessity of Christ's coming; or at least leaves them a way to be saved without him; unless they will say, (which is worst of all,) *That though they really fulfil the righteous law of God, yet God damned them, because of the want of that particular knowledge, while he himself withheld all means of their coming to him from them;* but of this hereafter.

The Gentiles spiritual nature in doing the law.

§. III. I might also here use another argument from those words of the apostle, 1 *Cor.* ii. where he so positively excludes the natural man from an understanding in the things of God; but because I have spoken of *that scripture* in the beginning of the second proposition, I will here avoid to repeat what is there mentioned, referring thereunto: yet because the *Socinians* and others, who exalt the light of the natural man, or a natural light in man, do

Socinians exalting the light of the natural man.

* Antequam progrediar.

object against this scripture, I shall remove it before I proceed.*

Object. They say, *The* Greek *word* ψυχικὸς *ought to be translated* animal, *and not* natural; *else*, say they, *it would have been* φυσικὸς. From which they seek to infer, *that it is only the animal man, and not the rational, that is excluded here from discerning the things of God.* Which *shift*, without disputing about the word, is easily refuted; neither is it anywise consistent with the scope of the place. For,

Answ.1 The animal man is the same with natural.

First, The *animal life* is no other than that which man hath in common with other living creatures; for as he is a mere man, he differs no otherwise from beasts than by the *rational property.* Now the apostle deduceth his argument in the foregoing verses from this *simile;* That *as the things of a man cannot be known but by the spirit of a man, so the things of God no man knoweth but by the Spirit of God.* But I hope these men will confess unto me, that the things of a man are not known by the *animal spirit* only, *i. e.* by that which he hath in common with the beasts, but by the *rational;* so that it must be the *rational* that is here understood. Again, the assumption shows clearly, that the apostle had no such intent as these men's gloss would make him have, viz. *So the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.* According to their judgment he should have said, *The things of God knoweth no man by his animal spirit, but by his rational spirit:* for to say, *the Spirit of God*, here spoken of, is no other than the *rational spirit of man*, would border upon blasphemy, since they are so often contra-distinguished. Again, going on, he saith not that they are *rationally*, but *spiritually discerned.*

Answ.2 Secondly, The apostle throughout this chapter shows how the wisdom of man is unfit to judge of the things of God, and ignorant of them. Now I ask these men, whether a man be called a *wise*

man from his *animal property*, or from his *rational?* If from his *rational*, then it is not only the *animal*, but also the *rational*, as he is yet in the natural state, which the apostle excludes here, and whom he contra-distinguisheth from the spiritual, verse 15. *But the spiritual man judgeth all things.* This cannot be said of any man merely because *rational*, or as he is a man, seeing the men of the greatest reason, if we may so esteem men, whom the scripture calls *wise*, as were the *Greeks* of old, not only may be, but often are, enemies to the kingdom of God; while both the *preaching of Christ* is said to be *foolishness with the wise men of the world*, and the *wisdom of the world* is said to be *foolishness with God.* Now whether it be any ways probable that either these wise men that are said to account the *gospel foolishness*, are only so called with respect to their *animal property*, and not their *rational;* or that the *wisdom* that is foolishness with God is not meant of the *rational*, but only the *animal property*, any rational man, laying aside interest, may easily judge.

The rational man in the natural state excluded from discerning the things of God.

§. IV. I come now to the other part, to wit, That *this evil and corrupted seed is not imputed to infants, until they actually join with it.* For this there is a reason given in the end of the proposition itself, drawn from *Eph.* ii. For these *are by nature children of wrath, who walk according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.* Here the apostle gives their evil walking, and not any thing that is not reduced to act, as a reason of their being *children of wrath.* And this is suitable to the whole strain of the gospel, where no man is ever threatened or judged for what iniquity he hath not actually wrought: such indeed as continue in iniquity, and so do allow the sins of their fathers, God will visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children.

Infants, no sin imputed to them.

Is it not strange then that men should entertain an opinion so absurd in itself, and so cruel and contrary to the nature as well of God's mercy as justice, concerning which the scripture is altogether silent? But it is manifest that man hath invented this opinion out of self-love, and from that bitter root from which all errors spring; for the most part of *Protestants* that hold this, having, as they fancy, the *absolute decree of election* to secure them and their children, so as they cannot miss of salvation, they make no difficulty to send all others, both old and young, to hell. For whereas self-love, which is always apt to believe that which it desires, possesseth them with an hope that their part is secure, they are not solicitous how they leave their neighbours, which are the far greater part of mankind, in these inextricable difficulties. The *Papists* again use this opinion as an art to augment the esteem of their church, and reverence of its sacraments, seeing they pretend it is washed away by baptism; only in this they appear to be a little more merciful, in that they send not these unbaptized infants to hell, but to a certain *limbus*, concerning which the scriptures are as silent as of the other. This then is not only not authorized in the scriptures, but contrary to the express tenor of them. The apostle saith plainly, *Rom.* iv. 15. *Where no law is, there is no transgression.* And again, v. 13. *But sin is not imputed, where there is no law.* Than which testimonies there is nothing more positive; since to infants there is no law, seeing as such they are utterly incapable of it; the law cannot reach any but such as have in some measure less or more the exercise of their understanding, which infants have not. So that from thence I thus argue:

The absolute decree of election springs from self-love.

To infants there is no law, so no transgression.

Sin is imputed to none, where there is no law.
But to infants there is no law:
Therefore sin is not imputed to them.

The *proposition* is the apostle's own words; the *assumption* is thus proved:

Those who are under a physical impossibility of either hearing, knowing, or understanding any law, where the impossibility is not brought upon them by any act of their own, but is according to the very order of nature appointed by God; to such there is no law.

But infants are under this physical impossibility:

Therefore, *&c.*

Secondly, What can be more positive than that of *Ezek.* xviii. 20. *The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the father's iniquity.* For the prophet here first showeth what is the cause of man's eternal death, which he saith is his *sinning;* and then, as if he purposed expressly to shut out such an opinion, he assures us, *The son shall not bear the father's iniquity.* From which I thus argue:

If the son bear not the iniquity of his father, or of his immediate parents, far less shall he bear the iniquity of *Adam.* Infants bear not Adam's transgression.

But the son shall not bear the iniquity of his father:

Therefore, *&c.*

§. V. Having thus far shown how absurd this opinion is, I shall briefly examine the reasons its authors bring for it.

First, They say, Adam *was a public person, and therefore all men sinned in him, as being in his loins.* And for this they allege that of *Rom.* v. 12. *Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned, &c. These last words,* say they, *may be translated, In whom all have sinned.* Obj. 1.

To this I answer: That *Adam* is a public person is not denied; and that through him there is a seed of sin propagated to all men, which in its own nature is sinful, and inclines men to iniquity; yet it will not follow from thence, that In- Answ.

fants, who join not with this seed, are guilty. As for these words in the *Romans*, the reason of the guilt there alleged is, *For that all have sinned.* Now no man is said to sin, unless he actually sin in his own person; for the Greek words ἐφ' ὧ may very well relate to θάνατος, which is the nearest antecedent; so that they hold forth, how that *Adam*, by his sin, gave an entrance to sin in the world: *and so death entered by sin*, ἐφ' ὧ i. e. *upon which* [viz. occasion] or, *in which* [viz. death] *all* others *have sinned;* that is, actually in their own persons; to wit, all that were capable of sinning: of which number that infants could not be, the apostle clearly shows by the following verse, *Sin is not imputed, where there is no law:* and since, as is above proved, there is no law to infants, they cannot be here included.

Obj. 2. Their second objection is from *Psalm* li. 5. *Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me. Hence*, they say, *it appears that infants from their conception are guilty.*

Answ. How they infer this consequence, for my part I see not. The iniquity and sin here appears to be far more ascribable to the parents than to the child. It is said indeed, *In sin did my mother conceive me;* not *my mother did conceive me a sinner.* Besides that, so interpreted, contradicts expressly the scripture before-mentioned, in making children guilty of the sins of their immediate parents, (for of *Adam* there is not here any mention,) contrary to the plain words, *the son shall not bear the father's iniquity.*

Conceived in sin answered.

Obj. 3. Thirdly, They object, *That the wages of sin is death; and that seeing children are subject to diseases and death, therefore they must be guilty of sin.*

Answ. I answer, That these things are a consequence of the fall, and of *Adam's* sin, is confessed; but that that infers necessarily a guilt in all others that are subject to them is denied. For though

Death the wages of sin answered.

the whole outward creation suffered a decay by *Adam's* fall, which groans under vanity; according to which it is said in *Job*, that *the heavens are not clean in the sight of God;* yet will it not from thence follow, that the herbs, earth, and trees are sinners.

Next, death, though a consequent of the fall, incident to man's earthly nature, is not the wages of sin in the saints, but rather a sleep, by which they pass from death to life; which is so far from being troublesome and painful to them, as all real punishments for sin are, that the apostle counts it gain: *To me*, saith he, *to die is gain*, Philip. i. 21.

Some are so foolish as to make an objection farther, saying, *That if Adam's sin be not imputed to those who actually have not sinned, then it would follow that all infants are saved.* Obj. 4.

But we are willing that this supposed absurdity should be the consequence of our doctrine, rather than that which it seems our adversaries reckon not absurd, though the undoubted and unavoidable consequence of theirs, *viz.* That *many infants eternally perish, not for any sin of their own, but only for* Adam's *iniquity;* where we are willing to let the controversy stop, commending both to the illuminated understanding of the *Christian reader.* Answ.

This error of our adversaries is both denied and refuted by *Zuinglius*, that eminent founder of the *Protestant churches* of *Switzerland*, in his book *De Baptismo*, for which he is anathematized by the council of *Trent*, in the *fifth session.* We shall only add this information: That we confess then that a seed of sin is transmitted to all men from *Adam*, although imputed to none, until by sinning they actually join with it; in which seed he gave occasion to all to sin, and it is the origin of all evil actions and thoughts in men's hearts, ἐφ' ὦ to wit, θανάτῳ, as it is in *Rom.* v. i. e. *In which death all have sinned.* For this seed of sin is frequently

called *death* in the scripture, and *the body of death;* seeing indeed it is a *death* to the life of righteousness and holiness: therefore its seed and its product is called the *old man*, the *old Adam*, in which all sin is; for which cause we use this name to express this sin, and not that of *original sin;* of which phrase the scripture makes no mention, and under which invented and unscriptural barbarism this notion of *imputed sin to infants* took place among Christians.

Original sin no scripture phrase.

PROPOSITIONS V. & VI.

Concerning the Universal Redemption by Christ, and also the Saving and Spiritual Light, wherewith every man is enlightened.

PROPOSITION V.

Ezek. xviii. 32. & xxxiii. 11

God, out of his infinite love, *who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but that all should live and be saved, hath so loved the world, that he hath given his only Son a* LIGHT, *that whosoever believeth in him shall be saved*, John iii. 16. *who enlighteneth* EVERY *man that cometh into the world*, John i. 9. *and maketh manifest all things that are reproveable*, Eph. v. 13. and teacheth all temperance, righteousness, and godliness; and this *Light* enlighteneth the hearts of all for a time, in order to salvation; and this is it which reproves the sin of all individuals, and would work out the salvation of all, if not resisted. Nor is it less *universal* than the seed of sin, being the purchase of his death, *who tasted death for every man: for as in* Adam *all die, even so in* Christ *all shall be made alive*, 1 *Cor.* xv. 22.

PROPOSITION VI.

According to which principle or hypothesis all the objections against the *universality* of *Christ's death* are easily solved; neither is it needful to recur to the ministry of angels, and those other miraculous means which they say God useth to manifest the doctrine and history of *Christ's passion* unto such, who, living in parts of the world where the outward preaching of the gospel is unknown, have well improved the first and common grace. For as hence it well follows that some of the old *philosophers* might have been saved, so also may some, who by providence are cast into those remote parts of the world where the knowledge of the history is wanting, be made partakers of the divine mystery, if they receive and resist not that grace, *a manifestation whereof is given to every man to profit withal.* 1 Cor. xii. 7. This most certain doctrine being then received, that there is an *evangelical* and *saving light and grace in all*, the universality of the love and mercy of God towards mankind, both in the death of his beloved Son the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and in the manifestation of the *light* in the heart, is established and confirmed, against all the objections of such as deny it. Therefore *Christ hath tasted death for every man;* not only for *all kinds of men*, as some vainly talk, but for every man of *all kinds:* the benefit of whose offering is not only extended to such who have the distinct outward knowledge of his *death* and *sufferings*, as the same is declared in the scriptures, but even unto those who are necessarily excluded from the benefit of this knowledge by some inevitable accident; which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such from whom God himself hath withheld it; yet they may be Heb. ii. 9.

made partakers of the mystery of his death, though ignorant of the history, if they suffer his *seed* and *light*, *enlightening their hearts*, to take place, *in which light communion with the Father and the Son is enjoyed*, so as of wicked men to become holy, and lovers of that power, by whose inward and secret touches they feel themselves turned from the evil to the good, and learn *to do to others as they would be done by*, in which Christ himself affirms all to be included. As *they* have then falsely and erroneously taught, who have denied Christ to have died for all men; so neither have *they* sufficiently taught the truth, who, affirming him to have died for all, have added the absolute necessity of the outward knowledge thereof, in order to obtain its saving effect. Among whom the *Remonstrants* of *Holland* have been chiefly wanting, and many other asserters of *universal redemption*, in that they have not placed the extent of this salvation in that *divine* and *evangelical principle of light and life*, wherewith *Christ hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world*, which is excellently and evidently held forth in these scriptures, *Gen.* vi. 3. *Deut.* xxx. 14. *John* i. 7, 8, 9, 16. *Rom.* x. 8. *Titus* ii. 11.

Absolute reprobation, that horrible and blasphemous doctrine, described.

Hitherto we have considered man's fallen, lost, corrupted, and degenerated condition. Now it is fit to inquire, *how and by what means he may come to be freed out of this miserable and depraved condition*, which in these two propositions is declared and demonstrated; which I thought meet to place together because of their affinity, the one being as it were an explanation of the other.

As for that doctrine which these propositions chiefly strike at, to wit, *absolute reprobation*, according to which some are not afraid to assert, "That "God, by an eternal and immutable decree, hath "predestinated to *eternal damnation* the far greater

"part of mankind, not considered as made, much "less as fallen, without any respect to their diso- "bedience or sin, but only for the demonstrating "of the glory of his justice; and that for the bring- "ing this about, he hath appointed these miserable "souls necessarily to walk in their wicked ways, "that so his justice may lay hold on them: and "that God doth therefore not only suffer them to "be liable to this misery in many parts of the "world, by withholding from them the preaching "of the gospel and the knowledge of Christ, but "even in those places where the gospel is preach- "ed, and salvation by Christ is offered; whom "though he publicly invite them, yet he justly con- "demns for disobedience, albeit he hath withheld "from them all grace by which they could have "laid hold of the gospel, *viz.* Because he hath, by "a secret will unknown to all men, ordained and "decreed (without any respect had to their obe- "dience or sin) that they shall not obey, and that "the offer of the gospel shall never prove effectual "for their salvation, but only serve to aggravate "and occasion their greater condemnation."

I say, as to this horrible and blasphemous doctrine, our cause is common with many others, who have both wisely and learnedly, according to scripture, reason, and antiquity, refuted it. Seeing then that so much is said already and so well against this doctrine, that little can be superadded, except what hath been said already, I shall be short in this respect; yet, because it lies so in opposition to my way, I cannot let it altogether pass.

§. I. First, We may safely call this doctrine a novelty, seeing the first four hundred years after Christ there is no mention made of it: for as it is contrary to the scriptures' testimony, and to the tenor of the gospel, so all the ancient writers, teachers, and doctors of the church, pass it over with a profound silence. The first foundations of

it were laid in the latter writings of *Augustine* who, in his heat against *Pelagius*, let fall some expressions which some have unhappily gleaned up, to the establishing of this error; thereby contradicting the truth, and sufficiently gainsaying many others, and many more and frequent expressions of the same *Augustine*. Afterwards was this loctrine fomented by *Dominicus* a friar, and the monks of his order; and at last unhappily taken up by *John Calvin*, (otherwise a man in divers respects to be commended,) to the great staining of his reputation, and defamation both of the *Protestant* and Christian religion; which, though it received the decrees of the synod of *Dort* for its confirmation, hath since lost ground, and begins to be exploded by most men of learning and piety in all *Protestant* churches. However, we should not oppugn it for the silence of the ancients, paucity of its asserters, or for the learnedness of its opposers, if we did observe it to have any real bottom in the writings or sayings of Christ and the apostles, and that it were not *highly injurious to God himself, to Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer, and to the power, virtue, nobility, and excellency of his blessed gospel, and lastly unto all mankind.*

Highly injurious to God, in making him the author of sin.

§. II. First, *It is highly injurious to God*, because it makes him the author of sin, which of all things is most contrary to his nature. I confess the asserters of this principle deny this consequence; but that is but a mere illusion, seeing it so naturally follows from this doctrine, and is equally ridiculous, as if a man should pertinaciously deny that *one* and *two* make *three*. For if God has decreed that the reprobated ones shall perish, without all respect to their evil deeds, but only of his own pleasure, and if he hath also decreed long before they were in being, or in a capacity to do good or evil, that they should walk in those wicked ways, by which, as by a secondary means, they

are led to that end: who, I pray, is the first author and cause thereof but God, who so willed and decreed? This is as natural a consequence as can be: and therefore, although many of the preachers of this doctrine have sought out various, strange, strained, and intricate distinctions to defend their opinion, and avoid this horrid consequence; yet some, and that of the most eminent of them, have been so plain in the matter, as they have put it beyond all doubt. Of which I shall instance a few among many passages. [*] *I say, That by the ordination and will of God* Adam *fell. God would have man to fall. Man is blinded by the will and commandment of God. We refer the causes of hardening us to God. The highest or remote cause of hardening is the will of God. It followeth that the hidden counsel of God is the cause of hardening.* These are *Calvin's* expressions. [1] *God* (saith *Beza*) *hath predestinated not only unto damnation, but also unto the causes of it, whomsoever he saw meet.* [2] *The decree of God cannot be excluded from the causes of corruption.* [3] *It is certain* (saith *Zanchius*) *that God is the first cause of obduration. Reprobates are held so fast under God's almighty decree, that they cannot but sin and perish.* [4] *It is the opinion* (saith *Paræus*) *of our doctors, That God did inevitably decree the temptation and fall of man. The creature sinneth indeed necessarily, by the most just judgment of God. Our men do most rightly affirm, that the fall of Man was necessary and inevitable, by accident, because of God's decree.* [5] *God* (saith *Martyr*) *doth incline and force the wills of wicked men into great sins.* [6] *God* (saith *Zuinglius*) *moveth the robber to kill. He killeth, God forcing him thereunto. But thou wilt say, he is forced to sin; I permit truly that he is forced.* [7] *Reprobate persons* (saith *Piscator*) *are absolutely ordained to this two-fold end, to undergo everlasting punishment, and necessarily to sin; and therefore to sin, that they may be justly punished.*

[*] Calvin in cap. 3. Gen. Id. 1. Inst. c. 18. S. 1. Id. lib de Præd. Id. lib. de Provid. Id. inst. c. 23. S. 1.

[1] Beza lib. de Præd.

[2] Id. de Præd. ad. Art. 1.

[3] Zanch. de Excæcat. q 5. Id. lib. 5. de Nat. Dei. cap 2. de præd.

[4] Paræus, lib 3. de Amis. gratiæ, c. 2. Ibid. c. 1.

[5] Martyr in Rom.

[6] Zuing. lib de Prov c. 5.

[7] Resp. ad Vorst. pa. 1. p. 120.

If these sayings do not plainly and evidently import that God is *the author of sin*, we must not then seek these men's opinions from their words, but some way else. It seems as if they had assumed to themselves that monstrous and two-fold will they feign of God; one by which they declare their minds openly, and another more secret and hidden, which is quite contrary to the other. Nor doth it at all help them, to say that man sins willingly, since that willingness, proclivity, and propensity to evil is, according to their judgment, so necessarily imposed upon him, that he cannot but be willing, because God hath willed and decreed him to be so. Which shift is just as if I should take a child incapable to resist me, and throw it down from a great precipice; the weight of the child's body indeed makes it go readily down, and the violence of the fall upon some rock or stone beats out its brains and kills it. Now then, I pray, though the body of the child goes willingly down, (for I suppose it, as to its mind, incapable of any will,) and the weight of its body, and not any immediate stroke of my hand, who perhaps am at a great distance, makes it die, whether is the child or I the proper cause of its death? Let any man of reason judge, if God's part be, with them, as great, yea, more immediate, in the sins of men, (as by the testimonies above brought doth appear,) whether doth not this make him not only the author of sin, but more unjust than the unjustest of men?

2. It makes God delight in the death of a sinner.

§. III. Secondly, *This doctrine is injurious to God*, because it makes him delight in the death of sinners, yea, and to will many to die in their sins, contrary to these scriptures, *Ezek.* xxxiii. 11. 1 *Tim.* ii. 4. 2. *Pet.* iii. 9. For if he hath created men only for this very end, that he might show forth his justice and power in them, as these men affirm, and for effecting thereof hath not only with-held from

them the means of doing good, but also predestinated the evil, that they might fall into it; and that he inclines and forces them into great sins; certainly he must necessarily delight in their death, and will them to die; seeing against his own will he neither doth, nor can do any thing.

§. IV. Thirdly, *It is highly injurious to Christ our mediator, and to the efficacy and excellency of his gospel;* for it renders his mediation ineffectual, as if he had not by his sufferings thoroughly broken down the *middle wall*, nor yet removed the *wrath* of God, or purchased the love of God towards all mankind, if it was afore-decreed that it should be of no service to the far greater part of mankind. It is to no purpose to allege that the death of Christ was of efficacy enough to have saved all mankind, if in effect its virtue be not so far extended as to put all mankind into a capacity of salvation.

3. It renders Christ's mediation ineffectual.

Fourthly, *It makes the preaching of the gospel a mere mock and illusion*, if many of these, to whom it is preached, be by any irrevocable decree excluded from being benefitted by it; it wholly makes useless the preaching of faith and repentance, and the whole tenor of the gospel promises and threatenings, as being all relative to a former decree and means before appointed to such; which, because they cannot fail, man needs do nothing but wait for that irresistible juncture, which will come, though it be but at the last hour of his life, if he be in the decree of *election;* and be his diligence and waiting what it can, he shall never attain it, if he belong to the decree of *reprobation.*

4. It makes the gospel a mock.

Fifthly, *It makes the coming of Christ, and his propitiatory sacrifice*, which the scripture affirms to have been the fruit of God's love to the world, and transacted for the sins and salvation of all men, *to have been rather a testimony of God's wrath to the*

5. It makes the coming of Christ an act of wrath.

world, and one of the greatest judgments, and severest acts of God's indignation towards mankind, it being only ordained to save a very few, and for the hardening, and augmenting the condemnation of the far greater number of men, because they be-believe not truly in it; the cause of which unbelief again, as the divines [so called] above assert, is the hidden counsel of God: certainly the coming of Christ was never to them a testimony of God's love, but rather of his implacable wrath: and if the world may be taken for the far greater number of such as live in it, God never loved the world, according to this doctrine, but rather hated it greatly, in sending his Son to be crucified in it.

6. It renders mankind in a worse condition than the devils—

§. V. Sixthly, *This doctrine is highly injurious to mankind;* for it renders them in a far worse condition than the devils in hell. For these were sometime in a capacity to have stood, and do suffer only for their own guilt; whereas many millions of men are forever tormented, according to them, for *Adam's* sin, which they neither knew of, nor ever were accessary to. It renders them worse than the beasts of the field, of whom the master requires no more than they are able to perform; and if they be killed, death to them is the end of sorrow; whereas man is for ever tormented for not doing that which he never was able to do.

—Than the Israelites under Pharaoh.

It puts him into a far worse condition than *Pharaoh* put the *Israelites;* for though he withheld straw from them, yet by much labour and pains they could have gotten it: but from men they make God to withhold all means of salvation, so that they can by no means attain it; yea, they place mankind in that condition which the poets feign of *Tantalus*, who, oppressed with thirst, stands in water up to the chin, yet can by no means reach it with his tongue; and being tormented with hunger hath fruits hanging at his very lips, yet

Tantalus' condition.

so as he can never lay hold on them with his teeth; and these things are so near him, not to nourish him, but to torment him. So do these men: they make the outward creation of the works of Providence, the smitings of conscience, sufficient to convince the *heathens* of sin, and so to condemn and judge them: but not at all to help them to salvation. They make the preaching of the gospel, the offer of salvation by Christ, the use of the sacraments, of prayer, and good works, sufficient to condemn those they account *reprobates* within the church, serving only to inform them to beget a seeming faith and vain hope; yet because of a secret impotency, which they had from their infancy, all these are wholly ineffectual to bring them the least step towards salvation; and do only contribute to render their condemnation the greater, and their torments the more violent and intolerable.

Having thus briefly removed this false doctrine which stood in my way, because they that are desirous may see it both learnedly and piously refuted by many others, I come to the matter of our proposition, which is, That *God out of his infinite love, who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but that all should live and be saved, hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him might be saved;* which is also again affirmed in the sixth proposition, in these words, *Christ then tasted death for every man, of all kinds.* Such is the evidence of this truth, delivered almost wholly in the express words of scripture, that it will not need much probation. Also, because our assertion herein is common with many others, who have both earnestly and soundly, according to the scripture, pleaded for this *universal redemption*, I shall be the more brief in it, that I may come to that which may seem more singularly and peculiarly ours.

Christ tasted death for every man.

Christ's redemption universal, contrary to the doctrine of absolute reprobation.

§. VI. This doctrine of *universal redemption*, or *Christ's dying for all men*, is of itself so evident from the scripture-testimony, that there is scarcely found any other article of the Christian faith so frequently, so plainly, and so positively asserted. It is that which maketh the preaching of Christ to be truly termed the *gospel*, or an *annunciation of glad tidings to all*. Thus the angel declared the birth and coming of Christ to the shepherds to be, *Luke* ii. 10. *Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people:* he saith not, *to a few*. Now if this coming of Christ had not brought a possibility of salvation *to all*, it should rather have been accounted bad tidings of great sorrow to most people; neither should the angel have had reason to have sung, *Peace on earth, and good will towards men*, if the greatest part of mankind had been necessarily shut out from receiving any benefit by it. How should Christ have sent out his servants to *preach the gospel to every creature*, Mark xvi. 15. (a very comprehensive commission,) that is, *to every son and daughter of mankind*, without all exception? He commands them to preach *salvation to all, repentance and remission of sins to all: warning every one, and exhorting every one*, as *Paul* did, *Col.* i. 28. Now how could they have preached the gospel *to every man*, as became the ministers of Jesus Christ, in much assurance, if salvation by that gospel had not been possible to all? What! if some of those had asked them, or should now ask any of these doctors, who deny the universality of Christ's death, and yet preach it to all promiscuously, *Hath Christ died for me?* How can they, with confidence, give a certain answer to this question? If they give a conditional answer, as their principle obligeth them to do, and say, *If thou repent, Christ hath died for thee;* doth not the same question still recur? *Hath Christ died for me, so as to make repentance possible to me?* To this they can

The gospel is preached to every man.

answer nothing, unless they run in a circle; whereas the *feet of those that bring the glad tidings of the gospel of peace* are said to be *beautiful*, for that they preach the *common salvation*, repentance unto all; offering a door of mercy and hope to all, through *Jesus Christ, who gave himself a ransom for all.* The gospel invites all: and certainly by the gospel *Christ* intended not to deceive and delude the greater part of mankind, when he invites, and crieth, saying; *Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* If all then ought to seek after him, and to look for salvation by him, he must needs have made *salvation possible* to *all*; for who is bound to seek after that which is *impossible?* Certainly it were a mocking of men to bid them do so. And such as deny, that by the death of Christ *salvation* is made *possible* to *all men*, do most blasphemously make God mock the world, in giving his servants a commission to *preach the gospel of salvation unto all*, while he hath before decreed that it shall not be possible for them to receive it. Would not this make the Lord to send forth his servants with a *lie in their mouth*, (which were blasphemous to think,) commanding them to bid *all* and *every one* believe that Christ died for them, and had purchased life and salvation? whereas it is no such thing, according to the fore-mentioned doctrine. But seeing Christ, after he arose and perfected the work of our redemption, gave a commission to preach *repentance*, *remission of sins*, and *salvation* to all, it is manifest that he *died for all.* For He that hath commissionated his servants thus to preach, is a *God of truth*, and no mocker of poor mankind; neither doth he require of any man that which is simply impossible for him to do: for that *no man is bound to do that which is impossible*, is a principle of truth engraven in every man's mind. And seeing he is both a righteous and merciful God, it cannot at all stand,

The absurdity of that doctrine of absolute reprobation.

either with his justice or mercy, to bid such men *repent* or *believe*, to whom it is impossible.

§. VII. Moreover, if we regard the testimony of the scripture in this matter, where there is not one scripture, that I know of, which affirmeth, *Christ not to die for all*, there are divers that positively and expressly assert, *He did;* as, 1 *Tim.* ii. 1, 3, 4, 6. *I exhort therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men, &c. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth; who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time.* Except we will have the apostle here to assert quite another thing than he intended, there can be nothing more plain to confirm what we have asserted. And this scripture doth well answer to that manner of arguing which we have hitherto used: for, first, the apostle here recommends them to *pray for all men;* and to obviate such an objection, as if he had said with our adversaries, *Christ prayed not for the world, neither willeth he us to pray for all; because he willeth not that all should be saved, but hath ordained many to be damned, that he might show forth his justice in them:* he obviates, I say, such an objection, telling them, that *it is good and acceptable in the sight of God, who will have all men to be saved.* I desire to know what can be more expressly affirmed? or can any two propositions be stated in terms more contradictory than these two? *God willeth some not to be saved;* and *God willeth all men to be saved*, or *God will have no man perish.* If we believe the last, as the apostle hath affirmed, the first must be destroyed; seeing of contradictory propositions, the one being placed, the other is destroyed. Whence, to conclude, he gives us a reason of his willingness that all men should be saved, in these words, *Who gave himself a ransom for all;* as if he would have

To pray for all; for Christ died for all—

—And will have all men to be saved.

said, Since Christ died for all, since he gave himself a ransom for all, therefore he will have all men to be saved. This Christ himself gives as a reason of God's love to the world, in these words: *John* iii. 16. *God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that* whosoever *believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;* compared with 1 *John* iv. 9. This [*whosoever*] is an indefinite term, from which no man is excluded. From all which then I thus argue:

For whomsoever it is lawful to pray, to them salvation is possible: Arg. 1.

But it is lawful to pray for every individual man in the whole world:

Therefore salvation is possible unto them.

I prove the *major proposition* thus;

No man is bound to pray for that which is impossible to be attained: Arg. 2.

But every man is bound and commanded to pray for all men:

Therefore it is not impossible to be attained.

I prove also this *proposition* further, thus;

No man is bound to pray, but in faith: Arg. 3.

But he that prayeth for that, which he judges simply impossible to be obtained, cannot pray in faith:

Therefore, &c.

Again,

That which God willeth is not impossible: Arg. 4.

But God willeth all men to be saved:

Therefore it is not impossible.

And lastly;

Those for whom our Saviour gave himself a ransom, to such salvation is possible: Arg. 5.

But our Saviour gave himself a ransom for all:

Therefore salvation is possible.

§. VIII. This is very positively affirmed, *Heb.* ii. 9. in these words, *But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death,* Proof 1.

crowned with glory and honour, that he by the grace of God might taste death for every man. He that will but open his eyes, may see this truth here asserted: if he *tasted death for every man*, then certainly there is no man for whom he did not taste death; then there is no man who may not be made a sharer of the benefit of it: for *he came not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved*, John iii. 17. *He came not to judge the world, but to save the world*, John xii. 47. Whereas, according to the doctrine of our adversaries, he rather came to condemn the world, and judge it; and not that it might be saved by him, or to save it. For if he never came to bring salvation to the greater part of mankind, but that his coming, though it could never do them good, yet shall augment their condemnation; from thence it necessarily follows, that he came not of intention to save, but to judge and condemn the greater part of the world, contrary to his own express testimony; and as the apostle *Paul*, in the words above-cited, doth assert affirmatively, *That God willeth the salvation of all*, so doth the apostle *Peter* assert negatively, *That he willeth not the perishing of any*, 2 Pet. iii. 9. *The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness, but is long-suffering to us-ward, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.* And this is correspondent to that of the prophet *Ezekiel*, xxxiii. 11. *As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live.* If it be safe to believe God, and trust in him, we must not think that he intends to cheat us by all these expressions through his servants, but that he was in good earnest. And that this will and desire of his hath not taken effect, the blame is on our parts, as shall be after spoken of; which could not be, if we never were in any capacity of salvation, or that Christ

Our adversaries' false doctrine of a great part of mankind being pre-ordained for damnation, refuted.

Proof 2.

had never died for us, but left us under an impossibility of salvation. What mean all those earnest invitations, all those serious expostulations, all those regretting contemplations, wherewith the holy scriptures are full? As, *Why will you die, O house of Israel! Why will ye not come unto me, that ye might have life? I have waited to be gracious unto you: I have sought to gather you: I have knocked at the door of your hearts: Is not your destruction of yourselves? I have called all the day long.* If men who are so invited be under no capacity of being saved, if salvation be impossible unto them, shall we suppose God in this to be no other but like the author of a *romance*, or master of a *comedy*, who amuses and raises the various affections and passions of his spectators by divers and strange accidents; sometimes leading them into hope, and sometimes into despair; all those actions, in effect, being but a mere illusion, while he hath appointed what the conclusion of all shall be?

Proof 3.

Thirdly, this doctrine is abundantly confirmed by that of the apostle, 1 *John* ii. 1, 2. *And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.* The way which our adversaries take to evite this testimony, is most foolish and ridiculous: *the* [*world*] *here*, say they, *is the world of believers:* for this *commentary* we have nothing but their own assertion, and so while it manifestly destroys the text, may be justly rejected. For, first, let them show me, if they can, in all the scripture, where the [*whole world*] is taken for *believers* only; I shall show them where it is many times taken for the quite contrary; as, *The world knows me not: The world receives me not: I am not of this world:* besides all these scriptures, *Psalm* xvii. 14. *Isai.* xiii. 11. *Mat.* xviii. 7. *John* vii. 7. and viii. 26. and xii. 19. and xiv. 17. and xv. 18, 19. and xvii.

Adversaries comment on the words the whole world.

14. and xviii. 20. 1 *Cor.* i. 21. and ii. 12. and vi. 2. *Gal.* vi. 14. *James* i. 27. 2 *Pet.* ii. 20. 1 *John* ii. 15. and iii. 1. and iv. 4, 5. and many more. Secondly, The apostle in this very place contra-distinguisheth the *world* from the *saints* thus; *And not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world:* What means the apostle by [*ours*] here? Is not that the sins of believers? Was not he one of those believers? And was not this an universal epistle, written to all the saints that then were? So that according to these men's comment, there should be a very unnecessary and foolish redundancy in the apostle's words; as if he had said, *He is a propitiation not only for the sins of all believers, but for the sins of all believers:* Is not this to make the apostle's words void of good sense? Let them show us wherever there is such a manner of speaking in all the scripture, where any of the penmen first name the *believers* in *concreto* with themselves, and then contra-distinguish them from some other whole world of believers. That [*whole world*] if it be of believers, must not be the world we live in. But we need no better interpreter for the apostle than himself, who uses the very same expression and phrase in the same epistle, ch. v. 19. saying, *We know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness.* There cannot be found in all the scripture, two places which run more parallel; seeing in both the same apostle, in the same epistle to the same persons, contra-distinguisheth himself, and the saints to whom he writes, from the whole world; which, according to these men's commentary, ought to be understood of *believers:* as if *John* had said, *We know particular believers are of God; but the whole world of believers lieth in wickedness.* What absurd wresting of scripture were this? And yet it may be as well pleaded for as the other; for they differ not at all. Seeing then that the apostle *John* tells us plainly, That

Christ not only died for him, and for the saints and members of the church of God, to whom he wrote, but for the *whole world*, let us then hold it for a certain and undoubted truth, notwithstanding the cavils of such as oppose.

This might also be proved from many more scripture-testimonies, if it were at this season needful. All the *fathers*, so called, and *doctors* of the church, for the first four centuries, preached this doctrine; according to which they boldly held forth the gospel of Christ, and efficacy of his death; inviting and entreating the *heathens* to come and be partakers of the benefits of it, showing them how there was a door open for them *all* to be saved through Jesus Christ; not telling them that God had predestinated any of them to damnation, or had made salvation impossible to them, by withholding power and grace, necessary to believe, from them. But of many of their sayings, which might be alleged, I shall only instance a few.

The heathens invited to salvation; none predestinated to damnation.

Augustine, on the xcvth *Psalm*, saith, "The blood "of Christ is of so great worth, that it is of no "less value than the whole world."

Proof 4. The testimonies of the doctors and fathers of the first church, that Christ died for all.

Prosper ad Gall. c. 9. "The redeemer of the "world gave his blood for the world, and the "world would not be redeemed, because the dark-"ness did not receive the light. He that saith, "the Saviour was not crucified for the redemption "of the whole world, looks not to the virtue of "the sacrament, but to the part of infidels; since "the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ is the price "of the whole world; from which redemption "they are strangers, who either delighting in their "captivity would not be redeemed, or after they "were redeemed returned to the same servi-"tude."

The same *Prosper*, in his answer to *Vicentius'* first objection: "Seeing therefore because of one "common nature and cause in truth, undertaken

"by our Lord, all are rightly said to be redeem-
"ed, and nevertheless all are not brought out of
"captivity; the property of redemption without
"doubt belongeth to those from whom the prince
"of this world is shut out, and now are not ves-
"sels of the devil, but members of Christ; whose
"death was so bestowed upon mankind, that it
"belonged to the redemption of such who were
"not to be regenerated. But so, that that which
"was done by the example of one for all, might,
"by a singular mystery, be celebrated in every
"one. For the cup of immortality, which is made
"up of our infirmity and the divine power, hath
"indeed that in it which may profit all: but if it
"be not drank, it doth not heal."

The author *de vocat. gentium*, lib. 11. cap. 6.
"There is no cause to doubt but that our Lord
"Jesus Christ died for sinners and wicked men.
"And if there can be any found, who may be
"said not to be of this number, Christ hath not
"died for all; he made himself a redeemer for
"the whole world."

Chrysostom on *John* i. "If he enlightens every
"man coming into the world, how comes it that
"so many men remain without light? For all
"do not so much as acknowledge Christ. How
"then doth he enlighten every man? He illumi-
"nates indeed so far as in him is; but if any of
"their own accord, closing the eyes of their mind,
"will not direct their eyes unto the beams of this
"light, the cause that they remain in darkness is
"not from the nature of the light, but through their
"own malignity, who willingly have rendered them-
"selves unworthy of so great a gift. But why be-
"lieved they not? Because they would not:
"Christ did his part."

The cause they remain in darkness.

The *Arelatensian* synod, held about the year 490,
"Pronounced him accursed, who should say that

"Christ hath not died for all, or that he would "not have all men to be saved."

Ambr. on *Psalm* cxviii. *Serm.* 8. "The mystical "Sun of Righteousness is arisen to all; he came "to all; he suffered for all; and rose again for all: "and therefore he suffered, that he might take "away the sin of the world. But if any one be-"lieve not in Christ, he robs himself of this general "benefit, even as if one by closing the windows "should hold out the sun-beams. The sun is not "therefore not risen to all, because such an one "hath so robbed himself of its heat: but the sun "keeps its prerogative; it is such an one's im-"prudence that he shuts himself out from the "common benefit of the light."

The sun-beams shut out, heat not.

The same man, in his 11th book of *Cain* and *Abel*, cap. 13. saith, "Therefore he brought unto "all the means of health, that whosoever should "perish, may ascribe to himself the causes of his "death, who would not be cured when he had "the remedy by which he might have escaped."

§. IX. Seeing then that this doctrine of the universality of Christ's death is so certain and agreeable to the scripture-testimony, and to the sense of the purest antiquity, it may be wondered how so many, some whereof have been esteemed not only learned, but also pious, have been capable to fall into so gross and strange an error. But the cause of this doth evidently appear, in that the way and method by which the virtue and efficacy of his death is communicated to all men, hath not been rightly understood, or indeed hath been erroneously taught. The *Pelagians*, ascribing all to man's will and nature, denied man to have any seed of sin conveyed to him from *Adam*. And the *Semi-Pelagians*, making grace as a gift following upon man's merit, or right improving of his nature, according to the known principle, *Facienti quod in se est, Deus non denegat gratiam.*

Pelagian errors.

Extremes fallen into by some, making God the author of sin.

This gave *Augustine*, *Prosper*, and some others occasion, labouring in opposition to these opinions, to magnify the grace of God, and paint out the corruptions of man's nature (as the proverb is of those that seek to make straight a crooked stick) to incline to the other extreme. So also the reformers, *Luther* and others, finding among other errors the strange expressions used by some of the Popish scholastics concerning free-will, and how much the tendency of their principles is to exalt man's nature and lessen God's grace, having all those sayings of *Augustine* and others for a pattern, through the like mistake run upon the same extreme: though afterwards the *Lutherans*, seeing how far *Calvin* and his followers drove this matter, (who, as a man of subtle and profound judgment, foreseeing where it would land, resolved above-board to assert that God had decreed the means as well as the end, and therefore had ordained men to sin, and excites them thereto, which he labours earnestly to defend,) and that there was no avoiding the making of God the author of sin, thereby received occasion to discern the falsity of this doctrine, and disclaimed it, as appears by the latter writings of *Melancthon*, and the *Mompelgartensian* conference, where *Lucas Osiander*, one of the collocutors, terms it *impious;* calls it a making *God the author of sin*, and an *horrid and horrible blasphemy*. Yet because none of those who have asserted this universal redemption since the reformation have given a clear, distinct, and satisfactory testimony how it is communicated to all, and so have fallen short of fully declaring the perfection of the gospel dispensation, others have been thereby the more strengthened in their errors; which I shall illustrate by one singular example.

Epit. Hist Eccl. Lucæ Osiand. Cent. 16. l. 4. cap 32.

The *Arminians*, and other asserters of universal grace, use this as a chief argument.

That which every man is bound to believe, is true:
But every man is bound to believe that Christ died for him:
Therefore, &c.

Of this argument the other party deny the assumption, saying, That *they who never heard of Christ, are not obliged to believe in him; and seeing the* Remonstrants (as they are commonly called) *do generally themselves acknowledge, that without the outward knowledge of Christ there is no salvation*, that gives the other party yet a stronger argument for their precise decree of reprobation. *For*, say they, *seeing we all see really, and in effect, that God hath withheld from many generations, and yet from many nations, that knowledge which is absolutely needful to salvation, and so hath rendered it simply impossible unto them; why may he not as well withhold the grace necessary to make a saving application of that knowledge, where it is preached? For there is no ground to say, That this were injustice in God, or partiality, more than his leaving those others in utter ignorance; the one being but a withholding grace to apprehend the object of faith, the other a withdrawing the object itself.* For answer to this, they are forced to draw a conclusion from their former *hypothesis* of Christ's dying for all, and God's mercy and justice, saying, That *if these* heathens, *who live in these remote places, where the outward knowledge of Christ is not, did improve that common knowledge they have, to whom the outward creation is for an object of faith, by which they may gather that there is a God, then the Lord would, by some providence, either send an angel to tell them of Christ, or convey the scriptures to them, or bring them some way to an opportunity to meet with such as might inform them.* Which, as it gives always too much to the power and strength of man's will and nature, and savours a little of *Socinianism* and *Pelagianism*, or at least

Remonstrants' opinion strengthens the precise decree of reprobation.

of *Semi-Pelagianism*, so, since it is only built upon probable conjectures, neither hath it evidence enough to convince any strongly tainted with the other doctrine; nor yet doth it make the equity and wonderful harmony of God's mercy and justice towards *all* so manifest to the understanding. So that I have often observed, that these asserters of universal grace did far more pithily and strongly overturn the false doctrine of their adversaries, than they did establish and confirm the truth and certainty of their own. And though they have proof sufficient from the holy scriptures to confirm the universality of Christ's death, and that none are precisely, by an irrevocable decree, excluded from salvation, yet I find when they are pressed in the respects above mentioned, to show how God hath so far equally extended the capacity to partake of the benefit of Christ's death unto all, as to communicate unto them a sufficient way of so doing, they are somewhat in a strait, and are put more to give us their conjectures from the certainty of the former pre-supposed truth, to wit, that because Christ hath certainly died for all, and God hath not rendered salvation impossible to any, therefore there must be some way or other by which they may be saved; which must be by improving some common grace, or by gathering from the works of creation and providence, than by really demonstrating, by convincing and spiritual arguments, what that way is.

None, by an irrevocable decree, excluded from salvation.

§. X. It falls out then, that as darkness, and the great apostacy, came not upon the Christian world all at once, but by several degrees, one thing making way for another; until that thick and gross veil came to be overspread, wherewith the nations were so blindly covered, from the *seventh* and *eighth*, until the *sixteenth century*; even as the darkness of the night comes not upon the

outward creation at once, but by degrees, according as the sun declines in each horizon; so neither did that full and clear light and knowledge of the glorious dispensation of the gospel of Christ appear all at once; the work of the first witnesses being more to testify against and discover the abuses of the apostacy, than to establish the truth in purity. He that comes to build a new city, must first remove the old rubbish, before he can see to lay a new foundation; and he that comes to an house greatly polluted and full of dirt, will first sweep away and remove the filth, before he puts up his own good and new furniture. The dawning of the day dispels the darkness, and makes us see the things that are most conspicuous: but the distinct discovering and discerning of things, so as to make a certain and perfect observation, is reserved for the arising of the sun, and its shining in full brightness. And we can, from a certain experience, boldly affirm, that the not waiting for this, but building among, yea, and with, the *old Popish rubbish*, and setting up before a full purgation, hath been to most Protestants the foundation of many a mistake, and an occasion of unspeakable hurt. Therefore the Lord God, who as he seeth meet doth communicate and make known to man the more full, evident, and perfect knowledge of his everlasting truth, hath been pleased to reserve the more full discovery of this glorious and evangelical dispensation, to this our age; albeit divers testimonies have thereunto been borne by some noted men in several ages, as shall hereafter appear. And for the greater augmentation of the glory of his grace, that no man might have whereof to boast, he hath raised up a few *despicable and illiterate men*, and for the most part *mechanics*, to be the dispensers of it; by which gospel all the scruples, doubts, hesitations, and objections above mentioned, are

The more full discovery of the gospel reserved to this our age.

easily and evidently answered, and the justice as well as mercy of God, according to their divine and heavenly harmony, are exhibited, established, and confirmed. According to which certain light and gospel, as the knowledge thereof has been manifested to us by the revelation of Jesus Christ *in us*, fortified by our own sensible experience, and sealed by the testimony of the Spirit in our hearts, we can confidently affirm, and clearly evince, according to the testimony of the holy scriptures, the following points:

Prop. 1. A day of visitation to all.

§. XI. First, *That God*, who out of his infinite love sent his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, into the world, who tasted death for every man, *hath given to every man*, whether *Jew* or *Gentile*, *Turk* or *Scythian*, *Indian* or *Barbarian*, of whatsoever nation, country, or place, *a certain day or time of visitation; during which day or time it is possible for them to be saved, and to partake of the fruit of Christ's death.*

Prop. 2. A measure of light in all.

Secondly, *That for this end God hath communicated and given unto every man a measure of the light of his own Son, a measure of grace, or a measure of the Spirit*, which the scripture expresses by several names, as sometimes of the *seed of the kingdom*, Mat. xiii. 18, 19. *the light that makes all things manifest*, Eph. v. 13. *the Word of God*, Rom. x. 17. or *manifestation of the Spirit given to profit withal*, 1 Cor. xii. 7. *a talent*, Mat. xxv. 15. *a little leaven*, Mat. xiii. 33. *the gospel preached in every creature*, Col. i. 23.

Prop. 3. God's salvation wrought by the light in all.

Thirdly, *That God, in and by this Light and Seed, invites, calls, exhorts, and strives with every man, in order to save him;* which, as it is received, and not resisted, works the salvation of *all*, even of those who are ignorant of the death and sufferings of Christ, and of *Adam's* fall, both by bringing them to a sense of their own *misery*, and to be sharers in the sufferings of Christ inwardly, and by making them partakers of his resurrection, in be-

coming holy, pure, and righteous, and recovered out of their sins. By which also are saved they that have the knowledge of Christ outwardly, in that it opens their understanding rightly to use and apply the things delivered in the scriptures, and to receive the saving use of them: but *that this may be resisted and rejected in both, in which then God is said to be resisted and pressed down, and Christ to be again crucified, and put to open shame in and among men.* And to those who thus resist and refuse him, he becomes their condemnation.

First then, According to this doctrine *the mercy of God is excellently well exhibited*, in that none are necessarily shut out from salvation; and his justice is demonstrated, in that he condemns none but such to whom he really made offer of salvation, affording them the means sufficient thereunto. Conseq. 1.

Secondly, This doctrine, if well weighed, will be found to be the *foundation of Christianity, salvation, and assurance.* Conseq. 2.

Thirdly, It agrees and answers *with the whole tenor of the gospel promises and threats, and with the nature of the ministry of Christ;* according to which, the gospel, salvation, and repentance are commanded to be preached to every creature, without respect of nations, kindred, families, or tongues. Conseq. 3.

Fourthly, *It magnifies and commends the merits and death of Christ*, in that it not only accounts them sufficient to save all, but declares them to be brought so nigh unto all, as thereby to be put into the nearest capacity of salvation. Conseq. 4.

Fifthly, *It exalts above all the grace of God*, to which it attributeth all good, even the least and smallest actions that are so; ascribing thereunto not only the first beginnings and motions of good, but also the whole conversion and salvation of the soul. Conseq. 5

Conseq. 6. Sixthly, *It contradicts, overturns, and enervates the false doctrine of the* Pelagians, Semi-Pelagians, Socinians, *and others*, who exalt the light of nature, the liberty of man's will, in that it wholly excludes the natural man from having any place or portion in his own salvation, by any acting, moving, or working of his own, until he be first quickened, raised up, and actuated by God's Spirit.

Conseq. 7. Seventhly, *As it makes the whole salvation of man solely and alone to depend upon God, so it makes his condemnation wholly and in every respect to be of himself*, in that he refused and resisted somewhat that from God wrestled and strove in his heart, and forces him to acknowledge God's just judgment in rejecting and forsaking of him.

Conseq. 8. Eighthly, *It takes away all ground of despair*, in that it gives every one cause of hope and certain assurance that they may be saved; *neither doth feed any in security*, in that none are certain how soon their day may expire: and therefore it is a constant incitement and provocation, and lively encouragement to every man, to forsake evil, and close with that which is good.

Conseq. 9. Ninthly, *It wonderfully commends as well the certainty of the Christian religion among* infidels, *as it manifests its own verity to all*, in that it is confirmed and established by the experience of all men; seeing there never was yet a man found in any place of the earth, however barbarous and wild, but hath acknowledged, that at some time or other, less or more, he hath found *somewhat* in his heart reproving him for some things evil which he hath done, threatening a certain horror if he continued in them, as also promising and communicating a certain peace and sweetness, as he has given way to it, and not resisted it.

Conseq. 10 Tenthly, *It wonderfully showeth the excellent wisdom of God*, by which he hath made the means of salvation so universal and comprehensive, that it

is not needful to recur to those miraculous and strange ways; seeing, according to this most true doctrine, the gospel reacheth all, of whatsoever condition, age, or nation.

Eleventhly, *It is really and effectively*, though not in so many words, yet by deeds, *established and confirmed by all the preachers, promulgators, and doctors of the* Christian religion, *that ever were, or now are, even by those that otherways in their judgment oppose this doctrine*, in that they all, whatever they have been or are, or whatsoever people, place, or country they come to, do preach to the people, and to every individual among them, that they may be saved; entreating and desiring them to believe in Christ, who hath died for them. So that what they deny in the general, they acknowledge of every particular; there being no man to whom they do not preach in order to salvation, telling him *Jesus Christ calls and wills him to believe and be saved;* and that if he refuse, he shall therefore be condemned, and that his condemnation is of himself. Such is the evidence and virtue of Truth, that it constrains its adversaries even against their wills to plead for it. Conseq. 11

Lastly, According to this doctrine the former argument used by the *Arminians*, and evited by the *Calvinists*, concerning every man's being bound to believe that *Christ died for him*, is, by altering the assumption, *rendered invincible;* thus, Conseq. 12

That which every man is bound to believe, is true:

But every man is bound to believe that God is merciful unto him:

Therefore, &c.

This assumption no man can deny, seeing *his mercies* are said to be *over all his works.* And herein the scripture every way declares the *mercy of God* to be, in that he invites and calls sinners to repentance, and hath opened a way of salvation for them: so that though those men be not bound

to believe the *history of Christ's death and passion* who never came to know of it, yet they are bound to believe that God will be merciful to them, if they follow his ways; and that he is merciful unto them, in that he reproves them for evil, and encourages them to good. Neither ought any man to believe that God is unmerciful to him, or that he hath from the beginning ordained him to come into the world that he might be left to his own evil inclinations, and so do wickedly, as a means appointed by God to bring him to eternal damnation; which, were it true, as our adversaries affirm it to be of many thousands, I see no reason why a man might not believe; for certainly a man may believe the truth.

Our adversaries' unmerciful assertion of God.

As it manifestly appears from the thing itself, that these good and excellent consequences follow from the belief of this doctrine, so from the proof of them it will yet more evidently appear; to which before I come, it is requisite to speak somewhat concerning the state of the controversy, which will bring great light to the matter: for from the not right understanding of a matter under debate, sometimes both arguments on the one hand, and objections on the other, are brought, which do no way hit the case; and hereby also our sense and judgment therein will be more fully understood and opened.

Ques. 1 The stating of the question.

§. XII. First then, by this *day and time of visitation*, which we say God gives unto all, during which they may be saved, *we do not understand the whole time of every man's life;* though to some it may be extended even to the very hour of death, as we see in the example of the thief converted upon the cross: but *such a season at least as sufficiently exonerateth God of every man's condemnation*, which to some may be sooner, and to others later, according as the Lord in his wisdom sees meet. So that many men may out-live this day,

after which there may be no possibility of salvation to them, and God justly suffers them to be hardened, as a just punishment of their unbelief, and even raises them up as instruments of wrath, and makes them a scourge one against another. Whence to men in this condition may be fitly applied those scriptures which are abused to prove *that God inviteth men necessarily to sin.* This is notably expressed by the apostle, *Rom.* i. from verse 17. to the end, but especially verse 28. *And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient.* That many may outlive this day of God's gracious visitation unto them, is shown by the example of *Esau, Heb.* xii. 16, 17. *who sold his birth-right:* so he had it once, and was capable to have kept it; but afterwards, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected. This appears also by Christ's weeping over *Jerusalem, Luke* xix. 42. saying, *If thou hadst known in this thy day the things that belong unto thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes.* Which plainly imports a time when they might have known them, which now was removed from them, though they were yet alive; but of this more shall be said hereafter.

That many may live the day of God's visitation.

§. XIII. Secondly, *By this seed, grace, and word of God, and light wherewith* we say *every one is enlightened,* and hath a measure of it, which strives with him in order to save him, and which may, by the stubbornness and wickedness of man's will, be quenched, bruised, wounded, pressed down, slain and crucified, *we understand not the proper essence and nature of God precisely taken, which is not divisible into parts and measures,* as being a *most pure, simple being, void of all composition or division,* and therefore can neither be resisted, hurt, wounded, crucified, or slain by all the efforts and strength of men; *but we understand a spiritual, heavenly, and*

Ques. 2

The light what it is, and its properties described.

invisible principle, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells; a measure of which divine and glorious life is *in all men* as a *seed*, which of its own nature draws, invites, and inclines to God; and this some call *vehiculum Dei*, or the *spiritual body of Christ, the flesh and blood of Christ, which came down from heaven*, of which all the saints do feed, and are thereby nourished unto eternal life. And as every unrighteous action is witnessed against and reproved by this *light* and *seed*, so by such actions it is hurt, wounded, and slain, and flees from them; even as the flesh of man flees from that which is of a contrary nature to it. Now because it is never separated from God nor Christ, but wherever it is God and Christ are as wrapped up therein, therefore and in that respect as it is resisted, God is said to be resisted; and where it is borne down, God is said to be pressed *as a cart under sheaves*, and Christ is said to be slain and crucified. And on the contrary, as this seed is received in the heart, and suffered to bring forth its natural and proper effect, Christ comes to be formed and raised, of which the scripture makes so much mention, calling it *the new man, Christ within, the hope of glory*. This is that *Christ within*, which we are heard so much to speak and declare of, every where preaching him up, and exhorting people to believe in the *light*, and obey it, that they may come to know *Christ in them*, to deliver them from all sin.

Cant. iii. 9.

1 Tim. vi. 16.

But by this, as we do not at all intend to *equal ourselves* to that holy man the *Lord Jesus Christ*, who was born of the virgin *Mary*, in whom all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt bodily, so neither do we *destroy the reality of his present existence*, as some have falsely calumniated us. For though we affirm that Christ dwells in us, yet not immediately, but mediately, as he is in that *seed*, which is *in us;* whereas he, to wit, the *Eternal Word*,

That the fulness of the Godhead dwells in Christ bodily, &c.

which was with God, and was God, dwelt immediately in that holy man. He then is as the head, and we as the members; he the vine, and we the branches. Now as the soul of man dwells otherwise and in a far more immediate manner in the head and in the heart, than in the hands or legs; and as the sap, virtue, and life of the vine lodgeth far otherwise in the stock and root than in the branches; so God dwelleth otherwise in the man *Jesus* than in us. We also freely reject the heresy of *Apollinarius*, who denied him to have any soul, but said the body was only actuated by the Godhead. As also the error of *Eutyches*, who made the manhood to be wholly swallowed up of the Godhead. Wherefore, as we believe he was a true and real man, so we also believe that he continues so to be glorified in the heavens in soul and body, by whom God shall judge the world, in the great and general day of judgment.

§. XIV. Thirdly, *We understand not this seed, light, or grace to be an accident, as most men ignorantly do, but a real spiritual substance*, which the soul of man is capable to feel and apprehend, from which that real, spiritual, inward birth in believers arises, called *the new creature, the new man in the heart.* This seems strange to carnal-minded men, because they are not acquainted with it; but we know it, and are sensible of it, by a true and certain experience. Though it be hard for a man in his natural wisdom to comprehend it, until he come to feel it in himself; and if he should, holding it in the mere notion, it would avail him little; yet we are able to make it appear to be true, and that our faith concerning it is not without a solid ground: for it is in and by this inward and substantial seed in our hearts as it comes to receive nourishment, and to have a birth or geniture *in* us, that we come to have

Ques. 3 That the light is a spiritual substance, which may be felt in the soul and apprehended.

those spiritual senses raised by which we are made capable of *tasting*, *smelling*, *seeing*, and *handling* the things of God; for a man cannot reach unto those things by his natural spirit and senses, as is above declared.

Next, We know it to be a *substance*, because it subsists *in* the hearts of wicked men, even while they are in their wickedness, as shall be hereafter proved more at large. Now no *accident* can be in a *subject* without it give the subject its own denomination; as where *whiteness* is in a subject, there the subject is called *white*. So we distinguish betwixt *holiness*, as it is an *accident*, which denominates man so, as the seed receives a place *in him*, and betwixt the *holy substantial seed*, which many times lies *in man's heart* as a naked grain in the stony ground. So also as we may distinguish betwixt *health* and *medicine; health* cannot be in a body without the body be called *healthful*, because *health* is an accident; but *medicine* may be in a body that is most unhealthful, for that it is a substance. And as when a *medicine* begins to work, the body may in some respect be called *healthful*, and in some respect *unhealthful*, so we acknowledge as this *divine medicine* receives place *in man's heart*, it may denominate him in some part holy and good, though there remain yet a corrupted unmortified part, or some part of the evil humours unpurged out; for where two contrary accidents are in one subject, as *health* and *sickness* in a body, the subject receives its denomination from the accident which prevails most. So many men are called saints, good and holy men, and that truly, when this holy seed hath wrought *in them* in a good measure, and hath somewhat leavened them into its nature, though they may be yet liable to many infirmities and weaknesses, yea and to some iniquities: for as the seed of sin and ground of corruption, yea and the capacity of yielding thereunto, and sometimes

The degrees of its operation in the soul of man.

actually falling [illegible] not denominate a good and holy man *impious*, neither doth the seed of righteousness in evil men, and the possibility of their becoming one with it, denominate them *good* or *holy*.

§. XV. Fourthly, *We do not hereby intend any ways to lessen or derogate from the atonement and sacrifice of Jesus Christ;* but on the contrary do magnify and exalt it. For as we believe all those things to have been certainly transacted which are recorded in the holy scriptures concerning the *birth, life, miracles, sufferings, resurrection, and ascension of Christ;* so we also believe that it is the duty of every one to believe it to whom it pleases God to reveal the same, and to bring to them the knowledge of it; yea, we believe it were *damnable unbelief* not to believe it, when so declared; but to resist that heavenly seed, which as minded would lead and incline every one to believe it as it is offered unto them, though it revealeth not in every one the outward and explicit knowledge of it, nevertheless it always assenteth to it, *ubi declaratur*, where it is declared. Nevertheless as we firmly believe it was necessary that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings he might offer up himself a sacrifice to God for our sins, who his own self *bare our sins in his own body on the tree;* so we believe that the remission of sins which any partake of, is only in and by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice, and no otherwise. For it is *by the obedience of that one that the free gift is come upon all to justification.* For we affirm, that as all men partake of the fruit of *Adam's* fall, in that by reason of that evil seed, which through him is communicated unto them, they are prone and inclined unto evil, though thousands of thousands be ignorant of *Adam's* fall, neither ever knew of the eating of the forbidden fruit; so also many may come to feel the influence of this holy and divine *seed* and *light*, and be turned from evil to

Ques. 4

That remission of sins is only and alone by Christ.

good by it, though they knew nothing of Christ's coming in the flesh, through whose obedience and sufferings it is purchased unto them. And as we affirm it is absolutely needful that those do believe the history of Christ's outward appearance, whom it pleased God to bring to the knowledge of it; so we do freely confess, that even that outward knowledge is very comfortable to such as are subject to and led by the inward *seed* and *light*. For not only doth the sense of Christ's love and sufferings tend to humble them, but they are thereby also strengthened in their faith, and encouraged to follow that excellent pattern which he hath left us, *who suffered for us*, as saith the apostle *Peter*, 1 *Pet.* ii. 21. *leaving us an example that we should follow his steps:* and many times we are greatly edified and refreshed with the gracious sayings which proceed out of his mouth. The *history* then is profitable and comfortable with the *mystery*, and never without it; but the *mystery* is and may be profitable without the explicit and outward knowledge of the *history*.

The history is profitable with the mystery.

Ques. 5 How Christ is in all men.

But Fifthly, This brings us to another question, to wit, *Whether Christ be in all men or no?* Which sometimes hath been asked us, and arguments brought against it; because indeed it is to be found in some of our writings that *Christ is in all men;* and we often are heard, in our public *meetings* and *declarations*, to desire every man to know and be acquainted with *Christ in them*, telling them that *Christ is in them;* it is fit therefore, for removing of all mistakes, to say something in this place concerning this matter. We have said before how that a *divine, spiritual, and supernatural light is in all men;* how that *that divine supernatural light* or *seed is* vehiculum Dei; how that *God and Christ dwelleth in it, and is never separated from it;* also how that *as it is received and closed with in the heart, Christ comes to be formed and brought forth:*

but we are f[illegible]ever having said, *that Christ is thus formed* [illegible] *men*, or *in the wicked:* for that is a great attainment, which the apostle travailed that it might be brought forth in the *Galatians*. Neither is *Christ in all men* by way of *union*, or indeed to speak strictly, by way of *inhabitation*, because this *inhabitation*, as it is generally taken, imports *union*, o[illegible] *manner of Christ's being in the saints:* as it is [illegible]en, *I will dwell in them, and walk in them*, 2 *Cor.* vi. 16. But in regard *Christ is in all men* as in a *seed*, yea, and that he[illegible]r is nor can be separate[illegible]m that *holy pu*[illegible] and *light* which is *in all men;* therefore may it be said in a larger sense, that he is *in all*, even as we observed before. The scripture saith, *Amos* ii. 13. God *is pressed down as a cart under sheaves*, and *Christ crucified in the ungodly;* though to speak pr[illegible]ly and strictly, neither can *God* be *pressed down* nor *Christ*, as God, be *crucified*. In this respect then, as he is *in the seed* which is in *all men*, we have said *Christ is in all men*, and have preached and directed all men to *Christ in them*, who lies crucified in them by their sins and iniquities, that they may *look upon him whom they have pierced*, and repent: whereby he that now lies as it were slain and buried *in them*, may come to be raised, and have dominion in their hearts over all. And thus also the apostle *Paul* preached to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians*, 1 *Cor.* ii. 2. *Christ crucified in them*, ἐν ὑμῖν, as the *Greek* hath it. This *Jesus Christ* was that which the apostle desired to know in *them*, and make known *unto them*, that they might come to be sensible how they had thus been *crucifying Christ*, that so they might repent and be saved. And forasmuch as Christ is called that *light that enlightens every man*, *the light of the world*, therefore the *light* is taken for *Christ*, who truly is the fountain of *light*, and hath his habitation in it for ever. Thus the *light of Christ* is sometimes

Christ crucified in man by iniquities.

called *Christ*, i. e. that in which Christ is, and from which he is never separated.

§. XVI. Sixthly, It will manifestly appear by what is above said, that *we understand not this divine principle to be any part of man's nature, nor yet to be any relics of any good which* Adam *lost by his fall*, in that we make it a distinct separate thing from man's soul, and all the faculties of it: yet such is the *malice* of our adversaries, that they cease not sometimes to calumniate us, as if we preached up a natural light, or the light of man's natural conscience. Next there are that lean to the doctrine of *Socinus* and *Pelagius*, who persuade themselves through mistake, and out of no ill design to injure us, as if this which we preach up were some natural power and faculty of the soul, and that we only differ in the wording of it, and not in the thing itself; whereas there can be no greater difference than is betwixt us in that matter: for we certainly know that this *light* of which we speak is not only distinct, but of a different nature from the soul of man, and its faculties. Indeed that man, as he is a rational creature, hath reason as a natural faculty of his soul, by which he can discern things that are rational, we deny not; for this is a property natural and essential to him, by which he can know and learn many arts and sciences, beyond what any other animal can do by the mere animal principle. Neither do we deny but by this rational principle man may apprehend in his brain, and in the notion, a knowledge of God and spiritual things; yet that not being the right organ, as in the second proposition hath more at length been signified, it cannot profit him towards salvation, but rather hindereth; and indeed the great cause of the apostacy hath been, that man hath sought to fathom the things of God in and by this natural and rational principle, and to build

The faculties of man's reason.

up a religion in it, neglecting and overlooking this principle and seed of God in the heart; so that herein, in the most universal and catholic sense, hath *Anti-Christ in every man set up himself, and sitteth in the temple of God as God, and above every thing that is called God.* For *men being the temple of the Holy Ghost*, as saith the apostle, 1 *Cor.* iii. 16, when the rational principle sets up itself there above the seed of God, to reign and rule as a prince in spiritual things, while the holy seed is wounded and bruised, there is *Anti-Christ in every man*, or somewhat exalted above and against Christ. Nevertheless we do not hereby affirm as if man had received his reason to no purpose, or to be of no service unto him, in no wise: we look upon reason as fit to order and rule man in things natural. For as God gave two great lights to rule the outward world, the sun and moon, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; so hath he given man the light of his Son, a spiritual divine light, to rule him in things spiritual, and the light of reason to rule him in things natural. And even as the moon borrows her light from the sun, so ought men, if they would be rightly and comfortably ordered in natural things, to have their reason enlightened by this divine and pure light. Which enlightened reason, in those that obey and follow this true light, we confess may be useful to man even in spiritual things, as it is still subservient and subject to the other; even as the animal life in man, regulated and ordered by his reason, helps him in going about things that are rational. We do further rightly distinguish this from man's natural conscience; for conscience being that in man which ariseth from the natural faculties of man's soul, may be defiled and corrupted. It is said expressly of the impure, *Tit.* i. 15. *That even their mind and con-*

Anti-christ in the temple of God.

The divine light and natural reason distinguished.

The light distinguished from man's natural conscience.

science is defiled; but this light can never be corrupted nor defiled; neither did it ever consent to evil or wickedness in any: for it is said expressly, that *it makes all things manifest that are reproveable*, Eph. v. 13. and so is a faithful witness for God against every unrighteousness *in man.* Now *conscience*, to define it truly, comes from [*conscire,*] and *is that knowledge which ariseth in man's heart, from what agreeth, contradicteth, or is contrary to any thing believed by him, whereby he becomes conscious to himself that he transgresseth by doing that which he is persuaded he ought not to do.* So that the mind being once blinded or defiled with a wrong belief, there ariseth a conscience from that belief, which troubles him when he goes against it. As for example: A *Turk* who hath possessed himself with a false belief that it is unlawful for him to drink wine, if he do it, his conscience smites him for it; but though he keep many concubines, his conscience troubles him not, because his judgment is already defiled with a false opinion that it is lawful for him to do the one, and unlawful to do the other. Whereas, if the light of Christ in him were minded, it would reprove him, not only for committing fornication, but also, as he became obedient thereunto, inform him that *Mahomet* was an *impostor;* as well as *Socrates* was informed by it, in his day, of the falsity of the heathen's gods.

Conscience defined.

Example of a Turk.

So if a *Papist* eat flesh in *Lent*, or be not diligent enough in adoration of saints and images, or if he should contemn images, his conscience would smite him for it, because his judgment is already blinded with a false belief concerning these things: whereas the light of Christ never consented to any of these abominations. Thus then man's natural conscience is sufficiently distinguished from it; for conscience followeth the judgment, doth not inform it; but this light, as it is received,

Example of a Papist.

removes the blindness of the judgment, opens the understanding, and rectifies both the judgment and conscience. So we confess also, that conscience is an excellent thing, where it is rightly informed and enlightened: wherefore some of us have fitly compared it to the lantern, and the light of Christ to a candle: a lantern is useful, when a clear candle burns and shines in it; but otherwise of no use. To the light of Christ then in the conscience, and not to man's natural conscience, it is that we continually commend men; that, not this, is it which we preach up, and direct people to, as a most certain guide unto life eternal.

The natural conscience compared to a lantern, and the light of Christ to a candle.

Lastly, This *light, seed, &c.* appears to be no power or natural faculty of man's mind; because a man that is in his health can, when he pleases, stir up, move, and exercise the faculties of his soul; he is absolute master of them; and except there be some natural cause or impediment in the way, he can use them at his pleasure: but this *light and seed of God in man* he cannot move and stir up when he pleaseth; but it moves, blows, and strives with man, as the Lord seeth meet. For though there be a possibility of salvation to every man during the day of his visitation, yet cannot a man, at any time when he pleaseth, or hath some sense of his *misery*, stir up that light and grace, so as to procure to himself tenderness of heart; but he must wait for it: which comes upon all at certain times and seasons, wherein it works powerfully upon the soul, mightily tenders it, and breaks it; at which time, if man resist it not, but close with it, he comes to know salvation by it. Even as the lake of *Bethesda* did not cure all those that washed in it, but such only as washed first after the angel had moved upon the waters; so God moves in love to mankind, in his seed in his heart, at some singular times, setting

The waiting upon the movings of the light and grace.

his sins in order before him, and seriously inviting him to repentance, offering to him remission of sins and salvation; which if man accept of, he may be saved. Now there is no man alive, and I am confident there shall be none to whom this paper shall come, who, if they will deal faithfully and honestly with their own hearts, will not be forced to acknowledge that they have been sensible of this in some measure, less or more; which is a thing that man cannot bring upon himself with all his pains and industry. This then, O man or woman, is the day of God's gracious visitation to thy soul, which, if thou resist not, thou shalt be happy for ever. This is the day of the Lord, which, as Christ saith, *is like the lightning, which shineth from the east unto the west;* and the *wind* or *spirit, which blows upon the heart, and no man knows whither it goes, nor whence it comes.*

Mat. xxiv. 27.

John iii. 8.

Ques. 7 §. XVII. And lastly, This leads me to speak concerning the manner *of this seed* or *light's operation in the hearts of all men*, which will show yet more manifestly, how widely we differ from all those that exalt a natural power or light in man; and how our principle leads above all others to attribute our whole salvation to the mere power, Spirit, and grace of God.

To them then that ask us after this manner, *How do ye differ from the* Pelagians *and* Arminians? *For if two men have equal sufficient light and grace, and the one be saved by it, and the other not; is it not because the one improves it, the other not? Is not then the will of man the cause of the one's salvation beyond the other?* I say, to such we thus answer: That as the grace and light in all is sufficient to save all, and of its own nature would save all; so it strives and wrestles with all in order to save them; he that resists its striving, is the cause of his own condemnation; he that resists it not, it becomes

The light's operations in order to salvation.

his salvation: so that in him that is saved, the working is of the *grace*, and not of the man; and it is a passiveness rather than an act; though afterwards, as man is wrought upon, there is a will raised in him, by which he comes to be a co-worker with the grace: for according to that of *Augustine, He that made us without us, will not save us without us.* So that the first step is not by man's working, but by his not contrary working. And we believe, that at these singular seasons of every man's visitation above-mentioned, as man is wholly unable of himself to work with the grace, neither can he move one step out of the natural condition, until the grace lay hold upon him; so it is possible for him to be passive, and not to resist it, as it is possible for him to resist it. So we say, the grace of God works in and upon man's nature; which, though of itself wholly corrupted and defiled, and prone to evil, yet is capable to be wrought upon by the grace of God; even as iron, though an hard and cold metal of itself, may be warmed and softened by the heat of the fire, and wax melted by the sun. And as iron or wax, when removed from the fire or sun, returneth to its former condition of coldness and hardness; so man's heart, as it resists or retires from the grace of God, returns to its former condition again. I have often had the manner of God's working, in order to salvation towards all men, illustrated to my mind by one or two clear examples, which I shall here add for the information of others.

The example of a diseased man and the physician.

The first is, *Of a man heavily diseased;* to whom I compare man in his fallen and natural condition. I suppose God, who is the great physician, not only to give this man physic, after he hath used all the industry he can for his own health, by any skill or knowledge of his own; as those that say, *If a man improve his reason or natural faculties, God*

will superadd grace: or, as others say, *that he cometh and maketh offer of a remedy to this man outwardly, leaving it to the liberty of man's will either to receive it or reject it.* But He, even the Lord, this great physician, cometh, and poureth the remedy into his mouth, and as it were layeth him in his bed; so that if the sick man be but passive, it will necessarily work the effect: but if he be stubborn and untoward, and will needs rise up and go forth into the cold, or eat such fruits as are hurtful to him, while the *medicine* should operate, then, though of its nature it tendeth to cure him, yet it will prove destructive to him, because of those obstructions which it meeteth with. Now as the man that should thus undo himself would certainly be the cause of his own death; so who will say, that, if cured, he owes not his health wholly to the physician, and not to any deed of his own; seeing his part was not any action, but a passiveness?

The example of men lying stupified in a dark pit, and their deliverer.

The second example is, *Of divers men lying in a dark pit together, where all their senses are so stupified, that they are scarce sensible of their own misery.* To this I compare man in his natural, corrupt, fallen condition. I suppose not that any of these men, wrestling to deliver themselves, do thereby stir up or engage one able to deliver them to give them his help, saying within himself, *I see one of these men willing to be delivered, and doing what in him lies, therefore he deserves to be assisted; as say the Socinians, Pelagians,* and *Semi-Pelagians.* Neither do I suppose that this deliverer comes to the top of the pit, and puts down a ladder, desiring them that will to come up; and so puts them upon using their own strength and will to come up; as do the *Jesuits* and *Arminians*: yet, as they say, such are not delivered without the grace; seeing the grace is that ladder by which they were delivered. But I suppose that the deliverer comes at certain times, and fully discovers and informs them of the great mis-

ery and hazard they are in, if they continue in that noisome and pestiferous place; yea, forces them to a certain sense of their misery, (for the wickedest men at times are made sensible of their misery by God's visitation,) and not only so, but lays hold upon them, and gives them a pull, in order to lift them out of their misery; which if they resist not will save them; only they may resist it. This being applied as the former, doth the same way illustrate the matter. Neither is the grace of God frustrated, though the effect of it be diverse, according to its object, being the *ministration of mercy and love* in those that reject it not, but receive it, *John* i. 12. but the *ministration of wrath and condemnation* in those that do reject it, *John* iii. 19. even as the sun, by one act or operation, melteth and softeneth the wax, and hardeneth the clay. The nature of the sun is to cherish the creation, and therefore the living are refreshed by it, and the flowers send forth a good savour, as it shines upon them, and the fruits of the trees are ripened; yet cast forth a dead carcase, a thing without life, and the same reflection of the sun will cause it to stink, and putrefy it; yet is not the sun said thereby to be frustrated of its proper effect. So every man during the day of his visitation is shined upon by the sun of righteousness, and capable of being influenced by it, so as to send forth good fruit, and a good savour, and to be melted by it; but when he hath sinned out his day, then the same sun hardeneth him, as it doth the clay, and makes his wickedness more to appear and putrefy, and send forth an evil savour.

A simile of the sun's melting and hardening power.

§. XVIII. Lastly, as we truly affirm that God willeth no man to perish, and therefore hath given to all grace sufficient for salvation; so we do not deny, but that in a special manner he worketh in some, in whom grace so prevaileth, that they necessarily obtain salvation; neither doth God suffer

All have grace sufficient for salvation given them of God.

them to resist. For it were absurd to say, that God had not far otherwise extended himself towards the virgin *Mary* and the apostle *Paul*, than towards many others: neither can we affirm that God equally loved the beloved disciple *John* and *Judas* the traitor; yet so far, nevertheless, as none wanted such a measure of grace by which they might have been saved, all are justly inexcusable. And also God working in those to whom this prevalency of grace is given, doth so hide himself, to shut out all security and presumption, that such may be humbled, and the free grace of God magnified, and all reputed to be of the free gift; and nothing from the strength of self. Those also who perish, when they remember those times of God's visitation towards them, wherein he wrestled with them by his *Light* and *Spirit*, are forced to confess, that there was a time wherein the door of mercy was open unto them, and that they are justly condemned, because they rejected their own salvation.

Thus both the mercy and justice of God are established, and the will and strength of man are brought down and rejected; his condemnation is made to be of himself, and his salvation only to depend upon God. Also by these positions two great objections, which often are brought against this doctrine, are well solved.

Object. The first is deduced from those places of scripture, wherein God seems precisely to have decreed and predestinated some to salvation; and for that end, to have ordained certain means, which fall not out to others; as in the calling of *Abraham*, *David*, and others, and in the conversion of *Paul*; for these being numbered among such to whom this prevalency is given, the objection is easily loosed.

The second is drawn from those places, wherein God seems to have ordained some wicked persons

to destruction; and therefore to have obdured their hearts to force them unto great sins, and to have raised them up, that he might show in them his power; who, if they be numbered amongst those men whose day of visitation is passed over, that objection is also solved; as will more evidently appear to any one that will make a particular application of those things, which I at this time, for brevity's sake, thought meet to pass over.

Predestination to salvation, and preordination to destruction, answered.

§. XIX. Having thus clearly and evidently stated the question, and opened our mind and judgment in this matter, as divers objections are hereby prevented, so will it make our proof both the easier and the shorter.

The first thing to be proved is, *That God hath given to every man a day or time of visitation, wherein it is possible for him to be saved.* If we can prove that there is a day and time given, in which those might have been saved that actually perish, the matter is done: for none deny but those that are saved have a day of visitation. This then appears by the regrets and complaints which the Spirit of God throughout the whole scripture makes, even to those that did perish; sharply reproving them, for that they did not accept of, nor close with God's visitation and offer of mercy to them. Thus the Lord expresses himself then first of all to *Cain*, Gen. iv. 6, 7. *And the Lord said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted? If thou dost not well, sin lieth at the door.* This was said to *Cain* before he slew his brother *Abel*, when the evil seed began to tempt him, and work in his heart; we see how God gave warning to *Cain* in season, and in the day of his visitation towards him, acceptance and remission if he did well: for this interrogation, *Shalt thou not be accepted?* imports an affirmative, *Thou shalt be accepted, if thou dost well.* So that if we may trust God Almighty, the

Prop. 1 Proved.

Proof 1

Those that perish had a day of mercy offered them

Instances. 1. Cain.

fountain of all truth and equity, it was possible in a day, even for *Cain* to be accepted. Neither could God have proposed the doing of *good* as a condition, if he had not given *Cain* sufficient strength, whereby he was capable to do *good*. This the Lord himself also shows, even that he gave a day of visitation to the old world, *Gen.* vi. 3. *And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive in man;* for so it ought to be translated. This manifestly implies, that his Spirit did strive with man, and doth strive with him for a season; which season expiring, God ceaseth to strive with him, in order to save him: for the Spirit of God cannot be said to strive with man after the day of his visitation is expired; seeing it naturally, and without any resistance, works its effect then, to wit, continually to judge and condemn him. From this *day of visitation*, that God hath given to every one, is it that he is said to *wait to be gracious*, Isa. xxx. 18. and to be *long-suffering*, Exod. xxxiv. 6. Numb. xiv. 18. Psal. lxxxvi. 15. Jer. xv. 15. Here the prophet *Jeremy*, in his prayer, lays hold upon the *long-suffering of God;* and in his expostulating with God, he shuts out the objection of our adversaries in the 18th verse; *Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable, which refuseth to be healed? Will thou altogether be unto me as a liar, and as waters that fail?* Whereas, according to our adversaries' opinion, the pain of the most part of men is perpetual, and their wound altogether incurable; yea, the offer of the gospel, and of salvation unto them, is as a lie, and as waters that fail, being never intended to be of any effect unto them. The apostle *Peter* says expressly, that this *long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah for those of the old world*, 1 Pet. iii. 20. which, being compared with that of *Gen.* vi. 3. before-mentioned, doth sufficiently hold forth our proposition. And that none may object that this

2. The old world.

God is long-suffering, and long waiting to be gracious unto all—

long-suffering or *striving of the Lord* was not in order to save them, the same apostle saith expressly, 2 *Pet.* iii. 15. *That the long-suffering of God is to be accounted salvation;* and with this *long suffering*, a little before in the 9th verse, he couples, *That God is not willing that any should perish.* Where, taking him to be his own interpreter, (as he is most fit,) he holdeth forth, That those to whom the Lord is *long-suffering*, (which he declareth he was to the wicked of the old world, and is now to all, *not willing that any should perish*,) they are *to account this long-suffering of God to them salvation.* Now how or in what respect can they account it *salvation*, if there be not so much as a *possibility* of salvation conveyed to them therein? For it were not *salvation* to them, if they could not be saved by it. In this matter *Peter* further refers to the writings of *Paul*, holding forth this to have been the universal doctrine. Where it is observable what he adds upon this occasion, how *there are some things in Paul's epistles hard to be understood, which the unstable and unlearned wrest to their own destruction;* insinuating plainly this of those expressions in *Paul's* epistles, as *Rom.* ix. *&c.* which some, *unlearned* in spiritual things, did make to contradict the truth of *God's long-suffering towards all*, in which he willeth not any of them should perish, and in which they all may be saved. Would to God many had taken more heed than they have done to this advertisement! That place of the apostle *Paul*, which *Peter* seems here most particularly to hint at, doth much contribute also to clear the matter, *Rom.* ii. 4. *Despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance, and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance!* *Paul* speaketh here to the unregenerate, and to the wicked, who (in the following verse he saith) *Treasure up wrath unto the day of wrath;* and to such he commends the riches of the forbearance and long-suffering of God;

—In order to save them.

Some things in Paul's epistles hard to be understood.

showing that the tendency of God's goodness leadeth to repentance. How could it necessarily tend to *lead them to repentance*, how could it be called *riches* or *goodness* to them, if there were not a time wherein they might repent by it, and come to be sharers of the riches exhibited in it? From all which I thus argue:

Arg. God's spirit strives in the wicked.

If God plead with the wicked, from the possibility of their being accepted; if God's Spirit strive in them for a season, in order to save them, who afterwards perish; if he wait to be gracious unto them; if he be long suffering towards them; and if this long-suffering be salvation to them while it endureth, during which time God willeth them not to perish, but exhibiteth to them the riches of his goodness and forbearance to lead them to repentance; then there is a day of visitation wherein such might have been, or some such now may be saved, who have perished; and may perish, if they repent not:

Pr. II.

But the first is true; therefore also the last.

§. XX. Secondly, This appeareth from the prophet *Isaiah*, v. 4. *What could I have done more to my vineyard?* For in verse 2. he saith: *He had fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine; and yet* (saith he) *when I looked it should have brought forth grapes, it brought forth wild grapes.* Wherefore he calleth the inhabitant of *Jerusalem* and men of *Judah* to judge betwixt him and his vineyard, saying: *What could I have done more to my vineyard, than I have done in it! and yet* (as is said) *it brought forth wild grapes:* which was applied to many in *Israel* who refused God's mercy. The same example is used by Christ, *Mat.* xxi. 33. *Mark* xii. 1. *Luke* xx. 9. where *Jesus* shows, how to some a *vineyard was planted*, and all things given necessary for them, to get them fruit to pay or restore to their master; and how the master many times waited to be merciful to them

The vineyard planted brought forth wild grapes.

in sending servants after servants, and passing by many offences, before he determined to destroy and cast them out. First then, this cannot be understood of the saints, or of such as repent and are saved; for it is said expressly, *He will destroy them.* Neither would the parable any ways have answered the end for which it is alleged, if these men had not been in a capacity to have done good; yea, such was their capacity, that Christ saith in the prophet, *What could I have done more?* So that it is more than manifest, that by this parable, repeated in three sundry *evangelists*, Christ holds forth his long-suffering towards men, and their wickedness, to whom means of salvation being afforded, do nevertheless resist, to their own condemnation. To these also are parallel these scriptures, *Prov.* i. 24, 25, 26. *Jer.* xviii. 9, 10. *Mat.* xviii. 32, 33, 34. *Acts* xiii. 46.

Pr. III.

Lastly, That there is a day of visitation given to the wicked, wherein they might have been saved, and which being expired, they are shut out from salvation, appears evidently by Christ's lamentation over *Jerusalem*, expressed in three sundry places, *Matth.* xxiii. 37. *Luke* xiii. 34. and xix. 41, 42. *And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying; If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things that belong to thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes!* Than which nothing can be said more evident to prove our doctrine. For, First, he insinuates that there was a day wherein the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* might have known those things that belonged to their peace. Secondly, That during that day he was willing to have gathered them, even as an *hen gatheredh her chickens.* A familiar example, yet very significative in this case: which shows that the offer of salvation made unto them was not in vain on his part, but as really, and with as great cheerfulness and willingness, as an *hen*

Christ's lamentation over Jerusalem.

gathereth her chickens. Such as is the love and care of the hen toward her brood, such is the care of Christ to gather lost men and women, to redeem them out of their corrupt and degenerate state. Thirdly, That because they refused, the things belonging to their *peace were hid from their eyes.* Why were they hid? Because ye would not suffer me to *gather you;* ye would not see those things that were *good for you,* in the season of God's love towards you; and therefore *now,* that day being expired, *ye cannot see them,* and, for a farther judgment, God suffers you to be hardened in unbelief.

God hardens, when.

So it is, after real offers of mercy and salvation rejected, that men's hearts are hardened, and not before. Thus that saying is verified, *To him that hath shall be given; and from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath.* This may seem a riddle, yet it is according to this doctrine easily solved. He hath not, because he hath lost the season of using it, and so to him it is now as nothing; for Christ useth this expression, *Matt.* xxv. 26. upon the occasion of the taking the *one talent* from the *slothful servant,* and giving it to him that was diligent; which *talent* was no ways insufficient of itself, but of the same nature with those given to the others; and therefore the Lord had reason to exact the profit of it proportionably, as well as from the rest: so, I say, it is after the rejecting of the day of visitation, that the judgment of obduration is inflicted upon men and women, as Christ pronounceth it upon the *Jews* out of *Isa.* vi. 9. which all the four *evangelists* make mention of, *Mat.* xiii. 14. *Mark* iv. 12. *Luke* viii. 10. *John* xii. 40. and last of all the apostle *Paul,* after he had made offer of the gospel of salvation to the *Jews* at *Rome,* pronounceth the same, *Acts* xxviii. 26. after that some believed not; *Well spake the Holy Ghost, by* Isaiah *the prophet, unto our fa-*

The one talent was sufficient.

thers, saying, Go unto this people, and say, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive. For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and should be converted, and I should heal them. So it appears, that God would have them to see, but they closed their eyes; and therefore they are justly hardened. Of this matter, *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* upon *John*, lib. 6. cap. 21. speaks well, answering to this objection. "But some may say, If Christ be come into the "world, that those that see may be blinded, their "blindness is not imputed unto them; but it rather "seems that Christ is the cause of their blindness, "who saith," *He is come into the world, that those that see may be blinded.* "But," saith he, "they "speak not rationally, who object these things un-"to God, and are not afraid to call him the author "of evil. For, as the sensible sun is carried upon "our horizon, that it may communicate the gift of its "clearness unto all, and make its light shine upon "all; yet if any one close his eye-lids, or willingly "turn himself from the sun, refusing the benefit of "its light, he wants its illumination, and remains "in darkness, not through the defect of the sun, "but through his own fault. So that the true sun, "who came to enlighten those that sat in dark-"ness, and in the region of the shadow of death, "visited the earth for this cause, that he might "communicate unto all the gift of knowledge and "grace, and illuminate the inward eyes of all by a "spiritual splendour: but many reject the gift of "this heavenly light freely given to them, and have "closed the eyes of their minds, lest so excellent "an illumination or irradiation of the eternal light "should shine unto them. It is not then through "defect of the true sun that they are blinded, but

Cyril. Alex.

The cause of man's remaining in darkness, the closing his eyes.

"only through their own iniquity and hardness; "*for*, as the wise man saith, Wisdom ii. *their wick-* "*edness hath blinded them.*"

From all which I thus argue:

The obstinate Jews had a day.

If there was a day wherein the obstinate *Jews* might have known the things that *belonged to their peace*, which, because they rejected it, *were hid from their eyes;* if there was a time wherein Christ would have gathered them, who, because they refused, could not be gathered; then such as might have been saved do actually perish, that slighted the day of God's visitation towards them, wherein they might have been converted and saved.

But the first is true; therefore also the last.

Prop. II Proved.

§. XXI. Secondly, That which comes in the second place to be proved is, *That whereby God offers to work this salvation during the day of every man's visitation;* and that is, *That he hath given to every man a measure of saving, sufficient, and supernatural light and grace.* This I shall do, by God's assistance, by some plain and clear testimonies of the scripture.

Proof 1 The light enlightening every man.

First, From that of *John* i. 9. *That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* This place doth so clearly favour us, that by some it is called the *Quakers' text;* for it doth evidently demonstrate our assertion; so that it scarce needs either consequence or deduction, seeing itself is a consequence of two propositions asserted in the former verses, from which it followeth as a conclusion in the very terms of our faith. The first of these propositions is, *The life that is in him is the light of men:* the second, *The light shineth in the darkness:* and from these two he infers, and *He is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*

Obs. 1.

From whence I do in short observe, That this divine apostle calls *Christ the light of men*, and giveth us this as one of the chief properties, at least considerably and especially to be observed

by us; seeing hereby, as he is the [illegible] as we walk with him in that light which he communicates to us, we come to have fellowship and communion with him, as the same apostle saith elsewhere, 1 *John* i. 7. Secondly, That *the light shineth in darkness, though the darkness comprehend it not.* Thirdly, That *this true light enlightneth every man that cometh into the world.* Where the apostle, being directed by God's Spirit, hath carefully avoided their captiousness, that would have restricted this to any certain number: where every one is, there is none excluded. Next, should they be so obstinate, as sometimes they are, as to say that this [*every man*] is only every one of the elect; these words following, *every man that cometh into the world*, would obviate that objection. So that it is plain there comes no man into the world, whom Christ hath not *enlightened* in some measure, and in whose dark heart this *light* doth not shine; though the *darkness comprehend it not*, yet it shineth there; and the nature thereof is to dispel the darkness, where men shut not their eyes upon it. Now for what end this *light* is given, is expressed verse 7. where *John* is said to come for a *witness, to bear witness to the light, that all men through it might believe;* to wit, through the *light*, δι ἀυτȣ̃, which doth very well agree with φωτος, as being the nearest antecedent, though most translators have (to make it suit with their own doctrine) made it relate to *John*, as if all men were to believe through *John*. For which, as there is nothing directly in the text, so it is contrary to the very strain of the context. For, seeing Christ hath *lighted every man* with this *light*, is it not that they may come to believe through it? All could not believe through *John*, because all men could not know of *John's* testimony; whereas every man being lighted by this, may come there-through to believe. *John* shined

—Not to a certain number of men, but every man.

The light dispelling darkness begets faith.

not in *darkness;* but this *light* shineth in the *darkness*, that having dispelled the *darkness*, it may produce and beget faith. And lastly, We must believe through that, and become believers through that, by walking in which, fellowship with God is known and enjoyed; but, as hath been above observed, it is by walking in this *light* that we have this communion and fellowship; not by walking in *John*, which were nonsense. So that this relative ὃ ἀυτὸ, must needs be referred to the *light* whereof *John* bears witness, that through that *light*, wherewith *Christ hath lighted every man*, all men might come to believe. Seeing then this *light* is the *light* of Jesus Christ, and the *light* through which men come to believe, I think it needs not to be doubted, but that it is a supernatural, saving, and sufficient *light*. If it were not supernatural, it could not be properly called the *light* of Jesus; for though all things be his, and of him, and from him, yet those things which are common and peculiar to our nature, as being a part of it, we are not said in so special a manner to have from Christ. Moreover, the evangelist is holding out to us here the office of Christ as mediator, and the benefits which from him as such do redound unto us.

The light is supernatural, saving, and sufficient.

Observ. 2. Secondly, It cannot be any of the natural gifts or faculties of our soul, whereby we are said here to be enlightened; because this light is said to *shine in the darkness*, and cannot be comprehended by it. Now this darkness is no other but man's natural condition and state; in which natural state he can easily comprehend, and doth comprehend, those things that are peculiar and common to him as such. That man in his natural condition is called *darkness*, see *Eph.* v. 8. *For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord.* And in other places, as *Acts* xxvi. 18. *Col.* i. 3. 1 *Thess.* v. 5. where the condition of man in his natural state is termed *darkness:* there-

The darkness is man's natural state and condition.

fore I say this *light* cannot be any natural property or faculty of man's soul, but a supernatural gift and grace of Christ.

Thirdly, It is sufficient and saving. Observ. 3.

That which is given *that all men through it may believe*, must needs be saving and sufficient: that, by walking in which, fellowship with the saints and the blood of Christ, *which cleanseth from all sin*, is possessed, must be sufficient: Arg. 1.

But such is the LIGHT, 1 *John* i. 7.

Therefore, *&c.*

Moreover;

That which we are commanded to believe in *that we may become the children of the light*, must be a supernatural, sufficient, and saving principle: Arg. 2.

But we are commanded to *believe in this light:*

Therefore, *&c.*

The *proposition* cannot be denied. The *assumption* is Christ's own words, *John* xii. 36. *While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of the light.*

To this they object, *That by* [light] *here is understood Christ's outward person, in whom he would have them believe.* Object.

That they ought to have believed in Christ, that is, that he was the MESSIAH that was to come, is not denied; but how they evince that Christ intended *that* here, I see not: nay, the place itself shows the contrary, by these words, *While ye have the light;* and by the verse going before, *Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you:* which words import, that when that light in which they were to believe was removed, then they should lose the capacity or season of believing. Now this could not be understood of Christ's person, else the *Jews* might have believed in him; and many did savingly believe in him, as all Christians do at this day, when the person, to wit, his bodily presence, or outward man, is far Answ. Whether Christ's outward person was the light.

The light of Christ is not Christ's outward man or person.

removed from them. So that this light in which they were commanded to believe, must be that inward spiritual light that shines in their hearts for a season, even during the day of man's visitation; which while it continueth to call, invite, and exhort, men are said to have it, and may believe in it; but when men refuse to believe in it, and reject it, then it ceaseth to be a light to show them the way; but leaves the sense of their unfaithfulness as a sting in their conscience, which is a terror and darkness unto them, and upon them, in which they cannot know where to go, neither can work any ways profitably in order to their salvation. And therefore to such rebellious ones the day of the Lord is said to be *darkness*, and not *light*, Amos v. 18.

From whence it appears, that though many receive not the light, as many comprehend it not, nevertheless this saving light shines in all, that it may save them. Concerning which also *Cyrillus Alexandrinus* saith well, and defends our principle:

Cyrillus Alexandrinus upon John, lib. 1. chap. 2

" With great diligence and watchfulness," saith he, "doth the apostle *John* endeavour to anticipate " and prevent the vain thoughts of men: for there " is here a wonderful method of sublime things, " and overturning of objections. He had just now " called the Son the *true light*, by whom he af- " firmed that every man coming into the world, " was enlightened; yea, that he was in the world, " and the world was made by him. One may then " object, If the word of God be the light, and if " this light enlighten the hearts of men, and sug- " gest unto men piety and the understanding of " things; if he was always in the world, and was " the creator or builder of the world, why was he " so long unknown unto the world? It seems ra- " ther to follow because he was unknown to the " world, therefore the world was not enlightened " by him, nor he totally light. Lest any should " so object, he divinely infers [and the world knew

"him not.] Let not the world," saith he, "accuse the word of God, and his eternal light, "but its own weakness; for the sun enlightens, "but the creature rejects the grace that is given "unto it, and abuseth the sharpness of understanding granted it, by which it might have naturally "known God; and, as a prodigal, hath turned its "sight to the creatures, neglecting to go forward, "and through laziness and negligence buried the "illumination, and despised this grace. Which "that the disciple of *Paul* might not do, he was "commanded to watch; therefore it is to be imputed to their wickedness, who are illuminated, "and not unto the light. For as albeit the sun "riseth upon all, yet he that is blind receiveth no "benefit thereby; none thence can justly accuse "the brightness of the sun, but will ascribe the "cause of not seeing to the blindness: so I judge "it is to be understood of the only begotten Son "of God; for he is the true light, and sendeth "forth his brightness upon all; but the god of "this world, as *Paul* saith, hath blinded the minds "of those that believe not, 2 *Cor.* iv. 4. that the "light of the gospel shine not unto them. We say "then that darkness is come upon men, not because they are altogether deprived of light, for "nature retaineth still the strength of understanding divinely given it, but because man is dulled "by an evil habit, and become worse, and hath "made the measure of grace in some respect to "languish. When therefore the like befalls "man, the *Psalmist* justly prays, crying, *Open mine "eyes, that I may behold the wonderful things of thy "law.* For the law was given that this light might "be kindled in us, the blearedness of the eyes of "our minds being wiped away, and the blindness "being removed which detained us in our former "ignorance. By these words then the world is accused as ungrateful and insensible, not knowing

The sun enlightens, but man through negligence buries illumination.

"its author, nor bringing forth the good fruit of the "*illumination;* that it may now seem to be said "truly of all, which was of old said by the proph-"et of the *Jews*, I expected that it should have "brought forth grapes, but it brought forth wild "grapes. For the good fruit of the *illumination* "was the knowledge of the only begotten, as a "cluster hanging from a fruitful branch, &c."

Grace no natural gift.

From which it appears *Cyrillus* believed that a *saving illumination* was given unto all. For as to what he speaks of nature, he understands it not of the common nature of man by itself, but of that nature which hath the strength of understanding *divinely* given it: for he understands this *universal illumination* to be of the same kind with that *grace* of which *Paul* makes mention to *Timothy*, saying, *Neglect not the grace that is in thee.* Now it is not to be believed that *Cyrillus* was so ignorant as to judge that grace to have been some natural gift.

Pro. II.

§. XXII. That this saving light and seed, or a measure of it, is given to all, Christ tells us expressly in the parable of the sower, *Mat.* xiii. from ver. 18. *Mark* iv. and *Luke* viii. 11. he saith, That this *seed* sown in those several sorts of grounds is the *word of the kingdom*, which the apostle calls the *word of faith*, Rom. x. 8. James i. 21. ὁ Λόγος ἔμφυτος, the *implanted ingrafted word, which is able to save the soul;* the words themselves declare that it is that which is *saving* in the nature of it, for in the good ground it fructified abundantly.

The seed of the kingdom is sown in several sorts of grounds without distinction.

Let us then observe, that this seed of the kingdom, this saving, supernatural, and sufficient *word*, was really sown in the stony thorny ground, and by the way-side, where it did not profit, but became useless as to these grounds: it was, I say, the same *seed* that was sown in the good ground. It is then the fear of persecution and deceitfulness of riches, as Christ himself interpreteth the parable, which hindereth this seed to grow in the hearts of many:

not but that in its own nature it is sufficient, being the same with that which groweth up and prospereth in the hearts of those who receive it. So that though all are not saved by it, yet there is a seed of salvation planted and sown in the hearts of *all* by God, which would grow up and redeem the soul, if it were not choked and hindered. Concerning this parable *Victor Antiochenus* on *Mark* iv. as he is cited by *Vossius*, in his *Pelagian History*, book 7. saith, "That our Lord Christ hath liberally sown the "divine seed of the word, and proposed it to all, "without respect of persons; and as he that sow-"eth distinguisheth not betwixt ground and ground, "but simply casteth in the seed without distinc-"tion, so our Saviour hath offered the food of the "divine word so far as was his part, although he "was not ignorant what would become of many. "Lastly, He so behaved himself, as he might justly "say, What should I have done that I have not "done?" And to this answered the parable of the *talents*, Mat. xxv. he that had *two talents* was accepted, as well as he that had *five*, because he used them to his master's profit: and he that had *one* might have done so; his talent was of the same nature of the rest: it was as capable to have proportionably brought forth its interest as the rest. And so though there be not a like proportion of grace given to all, to some *five talents*, to some *two talents*, and to some but *one talent;* yet there is given to all that which is sufficient, and no more is required than according to that which is given: *For unto whomsoever much is given, from him shall much be required*, Luke xii. 48. He that had the *two talents* was accepted for giving *four*, nothing less than he that gave the *ten:* so should he also that gave the *one*, if he had given *two;* and no doubt *one* was capable to have produced *two*, as well as *five* to have produced *ten;* or *two*, *four*.

§. XXIII. Thirdly, This saving spiritual light is Pr. III.

The light is the gospel, the power of God preached in every creature under heaven.

the gospel, which the apostle saith expressly is preached *in every creature under heaven;* even that very *gospel whereof Paul was made a minister*, Col. i. 23. For the gospel is not a mere declaration of good things, being the *power of God unto salvation to all those that believe*, Rom. i. 16. Though the outward declaration of the gospel be taken sometimes for the gospel; yet it is but figuratively, and by a *metonymy*. For to speak properly, the gospel is this inward power and life which preacheth *glad tidings* in the hearts of all men, offering salvation unto them, and seeking to redeem them from their iniquities, and therefore it is said to be preached *in every creature under heaven:* whereas there are many thousands of men and women to whom the outward gospel was never preached. Therefore the apostle *Paul*, *Romans* i. where he saith *the gospel is the power of God unto salvation*, adds, that *therein is revealed the righteousness of God from faith to faith;* and also the *wrath of God against such as hold the truth of God in unrighteousness;* for this reason, saith he, *because that which may be known of God is manifest in them: for God hath showed it unto them.* Now that which may be known of God, is known by the gospel, which was manifest in them. For those of whom the apostle speaks had no outward gospel preached unto them; so that it was by the inward manifestation of the knowledge of God *in them*, which is indeed the gospel preached in man, *that the righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith;* that is, it reveals to the soul that which is just, good, and righteous: and that as the soul receiveth it and believes, righteousness comes more and more to be revealed from one degree of faith to another. For though, as the following verse saith, the outward creation declares the power of God; yet *that which may be known of him is manifest within:* by which inward manifestation we are made capable to see and discern

the Eternal Power and Godhead in the outward creation; so were it not for this inward principle, we could no more understand the invisible things of God by the outward visible creation, than a blind man can see and discern the variety of shapes and colours, or judge of the beauty of the outward creation. Therefore he saith, first, *That which may be known of God is manifest in them*, and in and by that they may read and understand the power and Godhead in those things that are outward and visible. And though any might pretend that the outward creation doth of itself, without any supernatural or saving principle in the heart, even declare to the natural man that there is a God; yet what would such a knowledge avail, if it did not also communicate to me what the will of God is, and how I shall do that which is acceptable to him? For the outward creation, though it may beget a persuasion that there is some eternal power or virtue by which the world hath had its beginning; yet it doth not tell me, nor doth it inform me of that which is just, holy, and righteous; how I shall be delivered from my temptations and evil affections, and come unto righteousness; that must be from some inward manifestation in my heart. Whereas those *Gentiles* of whom the apostle speaks, knew by that *inward law* and manifestation of the knowledge of God in them to distinguish betwixt good and evil, as in the next chapter appears, of which we shall speak hereafter. The prophet *Micah*, speaking of man indefinitely, or in general, declares this, *Mic.* vi. 8. *He hath showed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?* He doth not say God requires, till he hath first assured that he hath showed unto them. Now because this is showed unto all men, and manifest *in them*, therefore, saith the apostle, is the *wrath of God revealed against them, for that they hold the truth in unrighteousness*.

The outward creation may beget a persuasion in man of an eternal power or virtue.

eousness; that is, the measure of truth, the light, the seed, the grace *in them:* for that they *hide the talent in the earth;* that is, in the earthly and unrighteous part in their hearts, and suffer it not to bring forth fruit, but to be choked with the sensual cares of this life, the fear of reproach, and the deceitfulness of riches, as by the parables above mentioned doth appear. But the apostle *Paul* opens and illustrates this matter yet more, *Rom.* x. where he declares, *That the word which he preached* (now the word which he preached, and the gospel which he preached, and whereof he was a minister, is one and the same) *is not far off, but nigh in the heart and in the mouth;* which done, he frameth as it were the objection of our adversaries in the 14th and 15th verses, *How shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher?* This he answers in the 18th verse, saying, *But, I say, have they not heard? Yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world;* insinuating that this divine preacher had sounded in the ears and hearts of *all men:* for of the *outward apostles* that saying was not true, neither then, nor many hundred years after; yea, for aught we know there may be yet great and spacious nations and kingdoms that never have heard of *Christ* nor his apostles as outwardly. This inward and powerful *word of God* is yet more fully described in the epistle to the *Hebrews*, chap. iv. 12. 13. *For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.* The virtues of this spiritual word are here enumerated: it is *quick*, because it *searches* and *tries the hearts of all;* no man's heart is exempt from it: for the apostle gives this reason of its being so in the following verse, *But all things are naked and*

The divine preacher, the word nigh, hath sounded in the ears and hearts of all men.

Before whom all things are manifest.

opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do: and there is not any creature that is not manifest in his sight. Though this ultimately and mediately be referred to God, yet nearly and immediately it relates to the *word* or *light*, which, as hath been before proved, is *in the hearts of all*, else it had been improper to have brought it in here. The apostle shows how *every intent and thought of the heart is discerned by the word of God*, because all things are naked before God; which imports nothing else but it is in and by this word whereby God sees and discerns man's thoughts; and so it must needs be in all men, because the apostle saith, *there is no creature that is not manifest in his sight.* This then is that faithful *witness* and *messenger* of God that bears witness for God, and for his righteousness in the hearts of all men: *for he hath not left himself without a witness*, Acts xiv. 17. and he is said to be *given for a witness to the people*, Isa. lv. 4. And as this word beareth witness for God, so it is not placed in men only to condemn them: for as he is given for a *witness*, so saith the prophet, *he is given for a leader and commander. The light is given, that all through it may believe*, John i. 7. *for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God*, which is placed in man's heart, both to be a witness for God, and to be a means to bring man to God through faith and repentance: it is therefore *powerful*, that it may divide betwixt the soul and the spirit: it is like a *two-edged sword*, that it may cut off iniquity from him, and separate betwixt the precious and the vile; and because man's heart is cold and hard like iron naturally, therefore hath God placed this word *in him*, which is said to be like a *fire*, and like a *hammer*, Jer. xxiii. 29. that like as by the heat of the fire the iron, of its own nature cold, is warmed, and softened, and by the strength of the hammer is framed according to the mind of the worker, so

And every thought and intent of the heart.

The faithful witness.

A leader and commander.

A two-edged sword.

A fire and a hammer.

the cold and hard heart of man is by the virtue and powerfulness of this word of God *near* and *in* the heart, as it resists not, warmed and softened, and receiveth an heavenly and celestial impression and image. The most part of the fathers have spoken at large touching this *word*, *seed*, *light*, and *saving voice* calling all unto salvation, and able to save.

Clem. Alex.

Clemens Alexandrinus saith, *lib.* 2, *Stromat.* "The "divine word hath cried, calling all, knowing well "those that will not obey; and yet, because it is in "our power either to obey or not to obey, that none "may have a pretext of ignorance, it hath made a "righteous call, and requireth but that which is ac- "cording to the ability and strength of every one." The self-same, in his warning to the *Gentiles;* "For "as," saith he, "that heavenly ambassador of the "Lord, *the grace of God, that brings salvation, hath* "*appeared unto all, &c.* This is the new song, "coming and manifestation of the word, which "now shows itself in us, which was in the begin- "ning, and was first of all." And again, "Hear "therefore, ye that are afar off; hear, ye who are "near; the word is hid from none, the light is "common to all, and shineth to all. There is no "darkness in the *word;* let us hasten to salvation, "to the new birth, that we being many, may be "gathered into the one alone love." *Ibid.* he saith, "that there is infused into all, but principally "into those that are trained up in doctrine, a cer- "tain *divine influence*, τις ἀπόῤῥοια θεία." And again he speaks concerning the *innate witness*, "worthy of belief, which of itself doth plainly "choose that which is most honest." And again he saith, "That it is not impossible to come unto "the truth, and lay hold of it, seeing it is most "near to us, in our own houses, as the most wise "*Moses* declareth, living in three parts of us, *viz.* "in our hands, in our mouth, and in our hearts. This," saith he, "is a most true badge of the truth,

The gathering unto the one and alone love.

"which is also fulfilled in three things, namely, in "counsel, in action, in speaking." And again he saith also unto the unbelieving nations, "Receive "Christ, receive light, receive sight, to the end "thou mayest rightly know both God and man. "The word that hath enlightened us is more pleas- "ant than gold, and the stone of great value." And again he saith, "Let us receive the light, that "we may receive God; let us receive the light, "that we may be the scholars of the Lord." And again he saith to those infidel nations, "The "heavenly Spirit helpeth thee; resist and flee "pleasure." Again, *lib.* 5. *Strom.* he saith, "God "forbid that man be not a partaker of divine ac- "quaintance, θείας ἐννοίας, who in *Genesis* is said "to be a partaker of inspiration." And *Paed. lib.* 1 *cap.* 3. "There is," saith he, "some lovely and "some desirable thing in man, which is called the "in-breathing of God, ἐμφύσημα Θεοῦ." The same man, *lib.* 10. *Strom.* directeth men unto the *light* and *water* in themselves, who have the eye of the soul darkened or dimmed through evil education and learning: let them enter in unto their own *domestic light*, or unto the *light* which is in their own house, πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον φῶς βαδιζέτω, unto the *truth*, which manifests accurately and clearly these things that have been written.

The enlightening word.

Justin Martyr, in his first *Apology*, saith, "That "the word which was and is, is in all; even that "very same word which, through the prophets, "foretold things to come."

J. Martyr.

The writer of the *Calling of the* Gentiles saith, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. "We believe according to the same "(*viz. scripture*,) and most religiously confess, that "God was never wanting in care to the generality "of men; who although he did lead by particular "lessons a people gathered to himself unto god- "liness, yet he withdrew from no nation of men "the gifts of his own goodness, that they might be.

Auth. de Voc. Gen.

"convinced that they had received the words of "the prophets, and legal commands in services and "testimonies of the first principles." Cap. 7. he saith, "That he believes that the help of grace "hath been wholly withdrawn from no man." *Lib.* 2. *Cap.* 1. "Because, albeit salvation is far from sin-"ners, yet there is nothing void of the presence "and virtue of his salvation." *Cap.* 2. "But see-"ing none of that people over whom was set both "the doctrines, were justified but through grace by "the spirit of faith, who can question but that they, "who of whatsoever nation, in whatsoever times, "could please God, were ordered by the spirit of "the grace of God, which although in fore time it "was more sparing and hid, yet denied itself to no "ages, being in virtue one, in quantity different, in "counsel unchangeable, in operation multifarious."

Pr. III. Proved.

§. XXIV. The third proposition which ought to be proved is, *That it is by this light, seed, or grace, that God works the salvation of all men, and many come to partake of the benefit of Christ's death, and salvation purchased by him.* By the inward and effectual operations of which, as many *heathens* have come to be partakers of the promises who were not of the seed of *Abraham* after the flesh, so may some now, to whom God hath rendered the knowledge of the history impossible, come to be saved by Christ. Having already proved that *Christ* hath *died for all*, that there is a *day* of *visitation* given to *all*, during which salvation is possible to them, and that God hath actually given a measure of *saving grace* and *light* unto *all*, preached the gospel *to* and *in* them, and placed the *word of faith* in their hearts, the matter of this proposition may seem to be proved. Yet shall I a little, for the further satisfaction of all who desire to know the truth, and hold it as it is in Jesus, prove this from two or three clear scripture testimonies, and remove the most common as well as the more strong objections usually brought against it.

God's salvation wrought by the light in all.

Our theme then hath two parts; First, *That those that have the gospel and Christ outwardly preached unto them, are not saved but by the working of the grace and light in their hearts.* 1 Part.

Secondly, *That by the working and operation of this, many have been, and some may be saved, to whom the gospel hath never been outwardly preached, and who are utterly ignorant of the outward history of Christ.* 2 Part.

As to the first, though it be granted by most, yet because it is more in words than deeds, (the more full discussing of which will occur in the next proposition concerning *justification*,) I shall prove it in few words. And first from the words of Christ to *Nicodemus*, John iii. 3. *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.* Now this birth cometh not by the outward preaching of the gospel, or knowledge of Christ, or historical faith in him; seeing many have that, and firmly believe it, who are never thus renewed. The apostle *Paul* also goes so far, while he commends the necessity and excellency of this *new creation*, as in a certain respect to lay aside the outward knowledge of Christ, or the knowledge of him after the flesh, in these words, 2 *Cor.* v. 16, 17. *Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh; yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more. Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature, old things are passed away, behold all things are become new.* Whence it manifestly appears, that he makes the knowledge of Christ after the flesh but as it were the rudiments which young children learn, which after they are become better scholars, are of less use to them, because they have and possess the very substance of those first precepts in their minds. As all comparisons halt in some part, so shall I not affirm this to hold in every respect: yet so far will this hold, that as those that go no farther

1 Part proved.

The new birth or regeneration cometh not by the outward knowledge of Christ;

than the rudiments are never to be accounted learned, and as they grow beyond these things, so they have less use of them, even so such as go no farther than the outward knowledge of Christ shall never inherit the kingdom of heaven. But such as come to know this *new birth*, to be in Christ indeed, to be a *new creature*, to have *old things passed away, and all things become new*, may safely say with the apostle, *Though we have known Christ, after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.* Now this *new creature* proceeds from the work of this *light* and *grace* in the heart: it is that word which we speak of, that is sharp and piercing, that *implanted word*, able to save the soul, by which this birth is begotten; and therefore Christ has purchased unto us this holy seed, that thereby this birth might be brought forth *in* us, which is therefore also called *the manifestation of the spirit, given to every one to profit withal;* for it is written, that *by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body.* And the apostle *Peter* also ascribeth this birth to the seed and word of God, which we have so much declared of, saying, 1 *Pet.* i. 23. *Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.* Though then this seed be small in its appearance, so that Christ compares it to a *grain of mustard-seed, which is the least of all seeds*, Matth. xiii. 31, 32. and that it be hid in the earthly part of man's heart; yet therein is life and salvation towards the sons of men wrapped up, which comes to be revealed as they give way to it. And in this seed in the hearts of all men is the *kingdom of God*, as in capacity to be produced, or rather exhibited, according as it receives depth, is nourished, and not choked: hence Christ saith, that *the kingdom of God was in the very Pharisees*, Luke xvii, 20, 21. who did oppose and resist him, and were justly accounted as ser-

by the k of it and ce in heart.

The kingdom of God is in the seed in the hearts of all men.

pents, and a *generation of vipers*. Now the *kingdom of God* could be no otherways in them than in a seed, even as the *thirty-fold* and the *hundred-fold* is wrapt up in a small seed, lying in a barren ground, which springs not forth because it wants nourishment: and as the whole body of a great tree is wrapped up potentially in the seed of the tree, and so is brought forth in due season; and as the capacity of a man or woman is not only in a child, but even in the very *embryo*, even so the *kingdom of Jesus Christ*, yea *Jesus Christ* himself, *Christ within, who is the hope of glory*, and becometh *wisdom*, *righteousness*, *sanctification*, and *redemption*, is in every man's and woman's heart, in that little *incorruptible seed*, ready to be brought forth, as it is cherished and received in the love of it. For there can be no men worse than those rebellious and unbelieving *Pharisees* were; and yet this *kingdom* was thus *within them*, and they were directed to look for it there: so it is neither *lo here*, nor *lo there*, in this or the other observation, that this is known, but as this seed of God in the heart is minded and entertained. And certainly hence it is, even because this light, seed, and grace that appears in the heart of man is so little regarded, and so much overlooked, that so few know Christ brought forth in them. The one sort, to wit, the *Calvinists*, they look upon grace as an irresistible power, and therefore neglect and despise this eternal seed of the kingdom in their hearts, as a low, insufficient, useless thing as to their salvation. On the other hand, the *Papists*, *Arminians*, and *Socinians*, they go about to set up their natural power and will with one consent, denying that this little seed, this small appearance of the light, is that supernatural saving grace of God given to every man to save him. And so upon them is verified that saying of the Lord Jesus Christ, *This is the condemnation of the world*,

Calvinists, Papists, Arminians, and Socinians' errors denying the light to be saving.

that light is come into the world, but men love darkness rather than light; the reason is added, *because their deeds are evil.* All confess they feel this; but they will not have it to be of that virtue. Some will have it to be *reason;* some a *natural conscience;* some, *certain reliques of God's image that remained in* Adam. So that Christ, as he met with opposition from all kinds of professors in his outward appearance, doth now also in his inward. It was the meanness of his outward man that made many despise him, saying, *Is not this the son of the carpenter? Are not his brethren and sisters among us? Is not this a* Galilean? *And came there ever a prophet out of* Galilee? and such-like reasonings. For they expected an outward deliverer, who as a prince should deliver them with great ease from their enemies, and not such a MESSIAH as should be crucified shamefully, and as it were lead them into many sorrows, troubles, and afflictions. So the meanness of this appearance makes the crafty *Jesuits*, the pretended rational *Socinians*, and the learned *Arminians* overlook it; desiring rather something that they might exercise their subtilty, reason, and learning about, and use the liberty of their own wills. And the secure *Calvinists*, they would have a Christ to save them without any trouble; to destroy all their enemies for them without them, and nothing or little within, and in the mean while to be at ease to live in their sins secure. Whence, when all is well examined, the cause is plain; it is *because their deeds are evil*, that with one consent they reject this *light:* for it checks the wisest of them all, and the learnedest of them all; in secret it reproves them; neither can all their *logic* silence it, nor can the securest among them stop its voice from crying, and reproving them within, for all their confidence in the outward knowledge of Christ, or of what he

The meanness of Christ's appearance in the flesh.

The nature of the light.

hath suffered outwardly for them. For, as hath been often said, *in a day it strives with all, wrestles with all;* and it is the unmortified nature, the first nature, the old *Adam*, yet alive in the wisest, the learnedest, in the most zealous for the outward knowledge of Christ, that denies this, that despises it, that shuts it out, to their own condemnation. They come all under this description, *Every one that doth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved*, John iii. 20. So that it may be said now, and we can say from a true and certain experience, as it was of old, *Psalm* cxviii. 22. *Mat.* xxi. 42. *Mark* xii. 10. *Luke* xx. 17. *Acts* iv. 11. *The stone which the builders* of all kinds *have rejected, the same is become* unto us *the head of the corner.* Glory to God for ever! who hath chosen us as first-fruits to himself in this day, wherein he is arisen to plead with the nations; and therefore hath sent us forth to preach this everlasting gospel unto all, Christ nigh to all, the light in all, the seed sown in the hearts of all, that men may come and apply their minds to it. And we rejoice that we have been made to lay down our wisdom and learning (such of us as have had some of it) and our carnal reasoning, to learn of Jesus; and sit down at the feet of Jesus in our hearts, and hear him, who there makes all things manifest, and reproves all things by his light, *Eph.* v. 13. For many are wise and learned in the notion, in the letter of the scripture, as the *Pharisees* were, and can speak much of Christ, and plead strongly against *Infidels*, *Turks*, and *Jews*, and it may be also against some *heresies*, who, in the mean time, are crucifying Christ in the small appearance of his seed in their hearts. Oh! better were it to be stripped and naked of all, to account it as dross and dung, and become a fool for Christ's sake, thus knowing him to teach thee in thy heart, so as thou

The wise and learned in the notion, crucifiers of Christ.

mayest witness him raised there, feel the virtue of his cross there, and say with the apostle, *I glory in nothing, save in the cross of Christ, whereby I am crucified to the world, and the world unto me.* This is better than to write thousands of commentaries, and to preach many sermons. And it is thus to preach Christ, and direct people to his pure light in the heart, that God hath raised us up, and for which the wise men of this world account us fools; because by the operation of this cross of Christ in our hearts, we have denied our own wisdom and wills in many things, and have forsaken the vain worships, fashions, and customs of this world. For these divers centuries the world hath been full of a dry, fruitless, and barren knowledge of Christ, feeding upon the husk, and neglecting the kernel; following after the shadow, but strangers to the substance. Hence the devil matters not how much of that knowledge abounds, provided he can but possess the heart, and rule in the will, crucify the appearance of Christ there, and so keep the seed of the kingdom from taking root. For he has led them abroad, *lo here*, and *lo there*, and has made them wrestle in a false zeal so much one against another, contending for this outward observation, and for the other outward observation, seeking CHRIST in this and the other external thing, as in *bread* and *wine;* contending one with another how he is there, while some will have him to be present therein this way, and some the other way; and some in scriptures, in books, in societies, and pilgrimages, and merits. But some, confiding in an external barren faith, think all is well, if they do but firmly believe that he died for their sins past, present, and to come; while in the mean time Christ lies crucified and slain, and is daily resisted and gainsayed in his appearance in their hearts. Thus,

None are saved by the knowledge of the history, but by the operation of the light of Christ in the mystery.

Contentions about outward observations and Lo here's.

from a sense of this blindness and ignorance that is come over Christendom, it is that we are led and moved of the Lord so constantly and frequently to call all, invite all, request all, to turn to the light in them, to mind the light in them, to believe in Christ, as he is in them: and that in the name, power, and authority of the Lord, not in school-arguments and distinctions, (for which many of the wise men of this world account us fools and mad-men,) we do charge and command them to lay aside their wisdom, to come down out of that proud, airy, brain-knowledge, and to stop that mouth, how eloquent soever to the worldly ear it may appear, and to be silent, and sit down as in the dust, and to mind the light of Christ in their own consciences: which, if minded, they would find as a *sharp two edged sword* in their hearts, and as a *fire* and a *hammer*, that would knock against and burn up all that carnal, gathered, natural stuff, and make the stoutest of them all tremble, and become *Quakers* indeed; which those that come not to feel now, and kiss not the Son while the day lasteth, but harden their hearts, will feel to be a certain truth when it is too late. To conclude, as saith the apostle, *All ought to examine themselves, whether they be in the faith indeed; and try their ownselves: for except Jesus Christ be in them, they are certainly reprobates*, 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

The call of God to blinded Christendom.

§. XXV. Secondly, that which remains now to be proved is, *That by the operation of this light and seed some have been and may yet be saved, to whom the gospel is not outwardly preached, nor the history of Christ outwardly known.* To make this the easier, we have already shown how that Christ hath died for all men: and consequently these are enlightened by Christ, and have a measure of saving light and grace; yea, that the gospel, though not in any outward dispensation, is preached to them, and in

2 Part proved. That many by the light may be saved, that have not the outward knowledge of Christ

them: so that thereby they are stated in a possibility of salvation. From which I may thus argue:

Arg. To whom the gospel, the power of God unto salvation, is manifest, they may be saved, whatever outward knowledge they want:

But this gospel is preached *in every creature;* in which are certainly comprehended many that have not the outward knowledge:

Therefore of those many may be saved.

But to those arguments, by which it hath been proved, *That all men have a measure of saving grace,* I shall add one, and that very observable, not yet mentioned, *viz.* that excellent saying of the apostle *Paul* to *Titus*, chap ii. verse 11. *The grace of God, that brings salvation, hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world:* than which there can be nothing more clear, it comprehending both the parts of the controversy. First, It testifies that it is no natural principle or light, but saith plainly, *It brings salvation.* Secondly, It says not, that it hath appeared to a *few*, but *unto all men.* The fruit of it declares also how efficacious it is, seeing it comprehends the whole duty of man: it both teacheth us, first, to forsake evil, to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts; and then it teacheth us our whole duty. First, to live *Soberly;* that comprehends temperance, chastity, meekness, and those things that relate unto a man's self. Secondly, *Righteously;* that comprehends equity, justice, and honesty, and those things which relate to our neighbours. And lastly, *Godly;* which comprehends piety, faithfulness, and devotion, which are the duties relating to God. So then there is nothing required of man. or is needful to man, which this grace teacheth not. Yet I have heard a public preacher, (one of those that are accounted zealous men,) to evite the strength of this text, deny

The saving grace of God teacheth the whole duty of man.

this grace to be saving, and say, *It was only intended of common favours and graces, such as is the heat of the fire, and outward light of the sun.* Such is the darkness and ignorance of those that oppose the truth; whereas the text saith expressly, that it is *saving*. Others, that cannot deny but it is *saving*, allege, This [*all*] comprehends not every individual, but only all kinds: but is a bare negation sufficient to overturn the strength of a positive assertion? If the scriptures may be so abused, what so absurd, as may not be pleaded for from them? or what so manifest, as may not be denied? But we have no reason to be staggered by their denying, so long as our faith is found in express terms of the scripture; they may as well seek to persuade us, that we do not intend that which we affirm, (though we know the contrary,) as make us believe, that when the apostle speaks forth our doctrine in plain words, yet he intends theirs, which is quite the contrary. And indeed, can there be any thing more absurd, than to say, where the word is plainly [*all*] *few* is only intended? For they will not have [*all*] taken here for the *greater number*. Indeed, as the case may be sometimes, by a figure [*all*] may be taken, of two numbers, for the greater number; but let them show us, if they can, either in scripture, or profane or ecclesiastical writings, that any man that wrote sense did ever use the word [*all*] to express, of two numbers, the lesser. Whereas they affirm, that the far lesser number have received saving grace; and yet will they have the apostle, by [*all*] to have signified so. Though this might suffice, yet, to put it further beyond all question, I shall instance another saying of the same apostle, that we may use him as his own commentator, *Rom.* v. 18. *Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came*

The absurdity of our adversaries' comment upon the word *all*, denying grace to be saving. Tit. ii. 11.

upon all men unto justification of life. Here no man of reason, except he will be obstinately ignorant, will deny, but this similitive particle [*as*] makes the [*all*] which goes before, and comes after, to be of one and the same extent; or else let them show one example, either in scripture, or elsewhere, among men that speak proper language, where it is otherwise. We must then either affirm that this loss, which leads to condemnation, hath not come upon *all;* or say, that this free gift is come upon *all* by Christ. Whence I thus argue:

Arg. If all men have received a loss from *Adam*, which leads to condemnation; then all men have received a gift from *Christ*, which leads to justification:

But the first is true; therefore also the last.

Even the heathens may be saved by the light.

From all which it naturally follows, that all men, even the *heathens*, may be saved: for *Christ* was given as a *light to enlighten the Gentiles*, *Isai.* xlix. 6. Now, to say that though they might have been saved, yet none were, is to judge too uncharitably. I see not what reason can be alleged for it; yea, though it were granted, which never can be, that none of the *heathens* were saved; it will not from thence follow, that they could not have been saved; or that none now in their condition can be saved. For, *A non esse ad non posse non datur sequela, i. e.* That consequence is false, that concludes a thing cannot be, because it is not.

Object. But if it be objected, which is the great objection, *That there is no name under heaven, by which salvation is known, but by the name* Jesus:

Therefore they (not knowing this) cannot be saved:

The literal knowledge of Christ is not saving, but the real experimental.

Answ. I answer; Though they know it not outwardly, yet if they know it inwardly, by feeling the virtues and power of it, the name Jesus indeed, which signifies a *Saviour*, to free them from sin and iniquity in their hearts, they are saved by it: I confess there is no other name to be saved by:

but salvation lieth not in the literal, but in the experimental knowledge; albeit, those that have the literal knowledge are not saved by it, without this real experimental knowledge: yet those that have the real knowledge may be saved without the external; as by the arguments hereafter brought will more appear. For if the outward distinct knowledge of him, by whose means I receive benefit, were necessary for me before I could reap any fruit of it; then, by the rule of *contraries*, it would follow, that I could receive no hurt, without I had also the distinct knowledge of him that occasioned it; whereas experience proves the contrary. How many are injured by *Adam*'s fall, that know nothing of there ever being such a man in the world, or of his eating the forbidden fruit? Why may they not then be saved by the gift and grace of *Christ* in them, making them righteous and holy, though they know not distinctly how that was purchased unto them by the death and sufferings of *Jesus* that was crucified at *Jerusalem*; especially seeing God hath made that knowledge simply impossible to them? As many men are killed by poison infused into their meat, though they neither know what the poison was, nor who infused it; so also on the other hand, how many are cured of their diseases by good remedies, who know not how the medicine is prepared, what the ingredients are, nor often times who made it? The like may also hold in spiritual things, as we shall hereafter prove.

The outward knowledge not essential to salvation; instance in infants and deaf persons.

§. XXVI. First, If there were such an absolute necessity for this outward knowledge, that it were even of the essentials of salvation, then none could be saved without it; whereas our adversaries deny not, but readily confess, that many infants and deaf persons are saved without it: so that here they break that general rule, and make salvation possible without it. Neither can they allege, that

it is because such are free from sin; seeing they also affirm, that all infants, because of *Adam's* sin, deserve eternal condemnation, as being really guilty in the sight of God; and of deaf people, it is not to be doubted, and experience shows us, that they are subject to many common iniquities, as well as other men.

Obj. 1. If it be said, *That these children are the children of believing parents:*

Answ. What then? They will not say that they transmit grace to their children. Do they not affirm, that the children of believing parents are guilty of original sin, and deserve death as well as others? How prove they that that makes up the loss of all explicit knowledge?

Obj. 2. If they say, *Deaf people may be made sensible of the gospel by signs:*

Answ. All the signs cannot give them any explicit knowledge of the history of the death, sufferings, and resurrection of Christ. For what sign can inform a deaf man, *That the Son of God took on him man's nature, was born of a virgin, and suffered under* Pontius Pilate?

Obj. 3. And if they should further allege, *That they are within the bosom of the visible church, and partakers of the sacraments:*

Answ. All that gives no certainty of salvation; for, as the *Protestants* confess, they confer not grace *ex opere operato.* And will they not acknowledge, that many are in the bosom of the church, who are visibly no members of it? But if this charity be extended towards such who are where the gospel is preached, so that they may be judged capable of salvation, because they are under a simple impossibility of distinctly knowing the means of salvation; what reason can be alleged why the like charity may not be had to such, as though they can hear, yet are under a simple impossibility of hearing, because it is not spoken unto them? Is not

a man in *China*, or in *India*, as much to be excused for not knowing a thing which he never heard of, as a deaf man here, who cannot hear? For as the deaf man is not to be blamed, because God hath been pleased to suffer him to lie under this infirmity; so is the *Chinese* or the *Indian* as excusable, because God hath with-held from him the opportunity of hearing. He that cannot hear a thing, as being necessarily absent, and he that cannot hear it, as being naturally deaf, are to be placed in the same category.

A Chinese or Indian excusable for not knowing the history of the death of Christ, &c.

Secondly, This manifestly appears by that saying of *Peter*, Acts x. 34. *Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him.* *Peter* was before liable to that mistake that the rest of the *Jews* were in; judging that all were unclean, except themselves, and that no man could be saved, except he were proselyted to their religion, and circumcised. But God showed *Peter* otherways in a vision, and taught him to call nothing *common* or *unclean;* and therefore, seeing that God regarded the prayers of *Cornelius*, who was a stranger to the law and to Jesus Christ as to the outward, yet *Peter* saw that God had accepted him; and he is said to *fear God* before he had this outward knowledge; therefore *Peter* concludes that every one in every nation, without respect of persons, that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him. So he makes the fear of God and the working of righteousness, and not an outward historical knowledge, *the qualification:* they then that have this, where-ever they be, they are saved. Now we have already proved, that to every man that grace is given, whereby he may live godlily and righteously; and we see, that by this grace *Cornelius* did so, and was accepted, and his prayers came up for a memorial before God before he had this outward knowledge. Also,

Ans. 2.

God regarded the prayers of Cornelius, a stranger to the law.

From what scripture did Job learn his excellent knowledge?

Was not *Job a perfect and upright man, that feared God, and eschewed evil?* Who taught *Job* this? How knew *Job Adam's* fall? And from what scripture learned he that excellent knowledge he had, and that faith, by which he knew his *Redeemer lived?* (For many make him as old as *Moses.*) Was not this by an inward grace in the heart? Was it not that inward grace that taught *Job* to eschew evil, and to fear God? And was it not by the workings thereof that he became a just and upright man? How doth he reprove the wickedness of men, *chap.* xxiv? And after he hath numbered up their wickedness, doth he not condemn them, *verse* 13. for *rebelling* against this *light*, for not knowing the way thereof, nor abiding in the paths thereof? It appears then *Job* believed that men had a light, and that because they rebelled against it, therefore they knew not its ways, and abode not in its paths; even as the *Pharisees*, who had the scriptures, are said to *err*, not knowing the scriptures. And also *Job's* friends, though in some things wrong; yet who taught them all those excellent sayings and knowledge which they had? Did not God give it them, in order to save them? or was it merely to condemn them? Who taught *Elihu*, that *the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding; that the Spirit of God made him, and the breath of the Almighty gave him life?* And did not the Lord accept a sacrifice for them? And who dare say that they are damned? But further, the apostle puts this controversy out of doubt; for, if we may believe his plain assertions, he tells us, *Rom.* ii. *That the* heathens *did the things contained in the law.* From whence I thus argue;

Job's friends, their excellent sayings.

Arg. In every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted:

But many of the *heathens* feared God, and wrought righteousness:

Therefore they were accepted.

The *minor* is proved from the example of *Cornelius*: but I shall further prove it thus;

He that doth the things contained in the law, feareth God, and worketh righteousness:

But the *heathens* did the things contained in the law:

Therefore they feared God, and wrought righteousness.

Can there be any thing more clear? For if to do the things contained in the law, be not to fear God, and work righteousness, then what can be said to do so, seeing the apostle calls the law *spiritual, holy, just*, and *good*? But this appears manifestly by another *medium*, taken out of the same chapter, *verse* 13. So that nothing can be more clear: the words are, *The doers of the law shall be justified.* From which I thus argue, without adding any word of my own;

The doers of the law shall be justified: Arg.

But the *Gentiles* do the things contained in the law:

All, that know but a conclusion, do easily see what follows, from these express words of the apostle. And indeed, he through that whole chapter labours, as if he were contending now with our adversaries, to confirm this doctrine, vers. 9, 10, 11. *Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God.* Where the *apostle* clearly *homologates*, or confesses to the sentence of *Peter* before-mentioned; and shows that *Jew* and *Gentile*, or as he himself explains in the following *verses*, both they that have an outward law, and they that have none, when they *do good*, shall be *justified*. And to put us out of all doubt, in the very following verses he tells, That *the doers of the law are justified*; and that the *Gentiles did the law*. So that except we think he spake not what he intended, we may safely conclude, that such

The Gentiles justified doing the law.

Gentiles were justified, and did partake of that honour, glory, and peace, which comes upon every one that doth good; even the *Gentiles*, that are without the law, when they *work good;* seeing with God there is no *respect of persons.* So as we see, that it is not the having the outward knowledge that doth save, without the inward; so neither doth the want of it, to such to whom God hath made it impossible, who have the inward, bring condemnation. And many that have wanted the outward, have had a knowledge of this inwardly, by virtue of that inward grace and light given to every man, working in them, by which they forsook iniquity, and became just and holy, as is above proved; who, though they knew not the history of *Adam's* fall, yet were sensible in themselves of the loss that came by it, feeling their inclinations to sin, and the body of sin in them: and though they knew not the coming of Christ, yet were sensible of that inward power and salvation which came by him, even before as well as since his appearance in the flesh. For I question whether these men can prove, that all the *patriarchs* and *fathers* before *Moses* had a distinct knowledge either of the one or the other, or that they knew the history of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and of *Adam's* eating the forbidden fruit; far less that Christ should be born of a virgin, should be crucified, and treated in the manner he was. For it is justly to be believed, that what *Moses* wrote of *Adam*, and of the first times, was not by tradition, but by revelation; yea, we see that not only after the writing of *Moses*, but even of *David* and all the *prophets*, who prophesied so much of Christ, how little the *Jews*, that were expecting and wishing for the *Messiah*, could thereby discern him when he came, that they crucified him as a *blasphemer*, not as a *Messiah*, by mistaking the prophecies concerning him; for *Peter* saith expressly, *Acts* iii. 17. to the

Many wanting the history, were sensible of the loss by Adam, and salvation come by Christ in themselves.

How little the Jews knew Christ, mistaking the prophets.

Jesus, That both they and their rulers did it through ignorance. And *Paul* saith, 1 *Cor.* ii. 8. *That had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory.* Yea, *Mary* herself, to whom the angel had spoken, and who had laid up all the miraculous things accompanying his birth in her heart, she did not understand how, when *he disputed with the doctors in the temple, that he was about his father's business.* And the apostles that had believed him, conversed daily with him, and saw his miracles, could not understand, neither believe those things which related to his *death, sufferings,* and *resurrection,* but were in a certain respect stumbled at them.

§. XXVII. So we see how that it is the inward work, and not the outward history and scripture, that gives the true knowledge; and by this inward *light* many of the *heathen philosophers* were sensible of the loss received by *Adam,* though they knew not the outward history: hence *Plato* asserted, That *man's soul was fallen into a dark cave, where it only conversed with shadows. Pythagoras* saith, *Man wandereth in this world as a stranger, banished from the presence of God.* And *Plotinus* compareth *man's soul, fallen from God, to a cinder, or dead coal, out of which the fire is extinguished.* Some of them said, That *the wings of the soul were clipped or fallen off, so that they could not flee unto God.* All which, and many more such expressions, that might be gathered out of their writings, show, that they were not without a sense of this loss. Also they had a knowledge and discovery of Jesus Christ inwardly, as a remedy *in* them, to deliver them from that evil seed, and the evil inclinations of their own hearts, though not under that particular denomination.

The heathens were sensible of the loss received by Adam.

Heathen philosophers divine knowledge. Plato. Pythag. Plotin.

Some called him an *Holy Spirit,* as *Seneca,* Epist. 41. who said, *There is an Holy Spirit in us, that treateth us as we treat him. Cicero,* calleth it an *innate*

Cicero calls it an innate light. Lactan. instit.

light, in his book *De Republica*, cited by *Lactantius*, 6 *Instit.* where he calls this, *right reason, given unto all, constant and eternal, calling unto duty by commanding, and deterring from deceit by forbidding.* Adding, *That it cannot be abrogated, neither can any be freed from it, neither by senate or people; that it is one eternal, and the same always to all nations; so that there is not one at* Rome, *and another at* Athens: *Whoso obeys it not, must flee from himself, and in this is greatly tormented, although he should escape all other punishments. Plotinus* also calls him *light*, saying, That *as the sun cannot be known but by its own light, so God cannot he known but with his own light: and as the eye cannot see the sun but by receiving its image, so man cannot know God but by receiving his image; and that it behoveth man to come to purity of heart before he could know God;* calling him also *Wisdom*, a name frequently given him in scripture; see *Prov.* i. 20. to the end; and *Prov.* viii. 9. 34. where *Wisdom* is said to cry, entreat, and invite all to come unto her, and learn of her: and what is this *Wisdom* but Christ? Hence such as came, among the *heathen*, to forsake evil, and cleave to righteousness, were called *philosophers*, that is, lovers of *wisdom*. They knew this *wisdom* was nigh unto them, and that *the best knowledge of God, and divine mysteries, was by the inspiration of the wisdom of God. Phocylides* affirmed, that *the word of the wisdom of God was best.* His words in the Greek are, Τῆς δὲ Θεοπνεύστης σοφίας λόγος ἐστὶν ἄριστος.

Philosophers, whence so called?

Phocylides.

And much more of this kind might be instanced, by which it appears they knew Christ; and by his working *in* them, were brought from unrighteousness to righteousness, and to love that power by which they felt themselves redeemed; so that, as saith the apostle, *They show the work of the law written in their hearts, and did the things contained in the law;* and therefore, as *all doers of the law*

are, were no doubt justified, and saved thus by the power of Christ *in* them. And as this was the judgment of the apostle, so was it of the primitive Christians. Hence *Justin Martyr* stuck not to call *Socrates a Christian*, saying, *that all such as lived according to the divine word in them, which was in all men, were Christians, such as* Socrates *and* Heraclitus, *and others among the Greeks, &c. That such as live with the word, are Christians without fear or anxiety.* Socrates a Christian, &c.

Clemens Alexandrinus saith, *Apol.* 2. *Strom. lib.* 1. That *this wisdom or philosophy was necessary to the* Gentiles, *and was their* school-master *to lead them unto Christ, by which of old the Greeks were justified.* Clem. Alex.

Nor do I think, saith *Augustine*, in his book of the *City of God*, lib. 18. cap. 47. *that the* Jews *dare affirm that none belonged unto God but the* Israelites. Upon which place *Ludovicus Vives* saith, That *thus the* Gentiles, *not having a law, were a law unto themselves; and the light of so living is the gift of God, and proceeds from the Son; of whom it is written, that he* enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Augustin. de Civ. Dei. Lud. Vives.

Augustine also testifies in his confessions, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 9. That *he had read in the writings of the* Platonists, *though not in the very same words, yet that which by many and multiplied reasons did persuade, that in the beginning was the word, and the word was with God; this was in the beginning with God, by which all things were made, and without which nothing was made that was made: in him was life, and the life was the light of men: and the light shined in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. And, albeit the soul gives testimony concerning the light, yet it is not the* light, *but the* word of God; *for* God *is the true* Light, *which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world;* and so repeats to verse 14. of *John* i. adding, *These things have I there read.* The Platonists saw the word in the beginning; which was light.

§. XXVIII. Seeing then it is by this inward gift, grace, and light, that both those that have the gospel preached unto them, come to have Jesus brought forth *in* them, and to have the saving and sanctified use of all outward helps and advantages; and also by this same light, that all may come to be saved; and that God calls, invites, and strives with all, in a day, and saveth many, to whom he hath not seen meet to convey this outward knowledge; therefore we, having the experience of the inward and powerful work of this light *in* our hearts, even *Jesus* revealed in us, cannot cease to proclaim the day of the Lord that is arisen in it, crying out with the woman of *Samaria; Come and see one that hath told me all that ever I have done; Is not this the Christ?* That others may come and feel the same *in* themselves, and may know, that that little small thing that reproves them in their hearts, however they have despised and neglected it, is nothing less than the gospel preached *in* them: *Christ*, the *wisdom* and *power of God*, being *in* and *by* that seed seeking to save their souls.

The day of the Lord proclaimed.

Of this *light* therefore *Augustine* speaks in his *confessions*, lib. 11. cap. 9. *In this beginning, O God! thou madest the heavens and the earth, in thy word, in thy Son, in thy virtue, in thy wisdom, wonderfully saying, and wonderfully doing. Who shall comprehend it? Who shall declare it? What is that which shineth in unto me, and smites my heart without hurt, at which I both tremble, and am inflamed? I tremble, in so far as I am unlike unto it; and I am inflamed, in so far as I am like unto it: it is wisdom, wisdom which shineth in unto me, and dispelleth my cloud, which had again covered me, after I was departed from it, with darkness, and the heap of my punishments.* And again he saith, lib. 10. cap. 27. *It is too late that I have loved thee, O thou beautifulness, so ancient and so new! late have I loved thee, and behold thou wast within, and*

Augustine trembled at the inshinings of the light unto him, and why?

I was without, and there was seeking thee! thou didst call, thou didst cry, thou didst break my deafness, thou glancedst, thou didst shine, thou chasedst away my darkness.

Buchanan testifying to the light.

Of this also our countryman *George Buchanan* speaketh thus in his book *De Jure regni apud Scotos: Truly I understand no other thing at present than that* light *which is divinely infused into our souls: for when God formed man, he not only gave him eyes to his body, by which he might shun those things that are hurtful to him, and follow those things that are profitable; but also hath set before his mind as it were a certain light, by which he may discern things that are vile from things that are honest. Some call this power* nature, *others, the* law of nature; *I truly judge it to be divine, and am persuaded that nature and wisdom never say different things. Moreover God hath given us a compend of the law, which in few words comprehends the whole; to wit, that we should love him from our hearts, and our neighbours as ourselves. And of this law all the books of the holy scriptures, which pertain to the forming of manners, contain no other but an explication.*

Jew and Gentile, Scythian and Barbarian, partakers of the salvation of Christ.

This is that universal evangelical principle, in and by which this salvation of Christ is exhibited to *all* men, both *Jew* and *Gentile*, *Scythian* and *Barbarian*, of whatsoever country or kindred he be: and therefore God hath raised up unto himself, in this our age, faithful witnesses and evangelists to preach again his *everlasting gospel*, and to direct *all*, as well the high professors, who boast of the *law* and the *scriptures*, and the *outward knowledge of Christ*, as the *infidels* and *heathens* that know not him that way, that they may all come to mind the light *in* them, and know Christ *in* them, *the just one*, τὸν Δίκαιον *whom they have* so long *killed, and made merry over, and he hath not resisted*, James v. 6. and give up their sins, iniquities, false

faith, professions, and outside righteousness, to be crucified by the power of his cross *in* them, so as they may know *Christ within* to be the *hope of glory*, and may come to walk in his light and be saved, who is that *true light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.*

PROPOSITION VII.

Concerning Justification.

As many as resist not this *light*, but receive the same, it becomes in them an holy, pure, and spiritual birth, bringing forth holiness, righteousness, purity, and all those other blessed fruits which are acceptable to *God:* by which holy birth, to wit, *Jesus Christ formed within us*, and working his works in us, as we are sanctified, so are we justified in the sight of God, according to the apostle's words; *But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God,* 1 Cor. vi. 11. Therefore it is not by our works wrought in our will, nor yet by good works considered as of themselves; but by *Christ*, who is both the *gift* and the *giver*, and the cause producing the effects in us; who, as he hath reconciled us while we were enemies, doth also in his wisdom save us and justify us after this manner, as saith the same apostle elsewhere; *According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost,* Tit. iii. 5.

§. 1. The *doctrine of justification* comes well in order after the discussing of the extent of Christ's death, and of the grace thereby communicated, some of the sharpest contests concerning this having from thence their rise. Many are the disputes among those called *Christians* concerning this point; and indeed, if all were truly minding that which justifieth, there would be less noise about the *notions of justification.* I shall briefly review this controversy as it stands among others, and as I have often seriously observed it; then in short state the controversy as to us, and open our sense and judgment of it; and *lastly* prove it, if the Lord will, by some scripture testimonies, and the certain experience of all that ever were truly justified.

Observat. The method of justification taken by the church of Rome.

§. II. That this *doctrine of justification*, hath been and is greatly vitiated in the church of *Rome*, is not by us questioned; though our adversaries, who, for want of better arguments, do often make lies their refuge, have not spared in this respect to stigmatize us with popery, but how untruly will hereafter appear. For to speak little of their *meritum ex condigno*, which was no doubt a very common doctrine of the *Romish church*, especially before *Luther*, though most of their modern writers, especially in their controversies with Protestants, do partly deny it, partly qualify it, and seem to state the matter only as if they were propagators and pleaders for good works by the others denied; yet if we look to the effects of this doctrine among them, as they appear in the generality of their church members, not in things disapproved, but highly approved and commended by their father the *Pope* and all his *Clients*, as the most beneficial casualty of all his revenue, we shall find that *Luther* did not without great ground oppose himself to them in this matter: and if he had not run himself into another

The pope's doctrine of merits, the most beneficial of all his revenue.

extreme, of which hereafter, his work would have stood the better. For in this, as in most other things, he is more to be commended for what he pulled down of *Babylon*, than for what he built of his own. Whatever then the *Papists* may pretend, or even some good men among them may have thought, experience showeth, and it is more than manifest by the universal and approved practice of their people, that they place not their *justification* so much in works that are truly and morally good, and in the being truly renewed and sanctified in the mind, as in such things as are either not good nor evil, or may truly be called evil, and can no otherways be reckoned good than because the *pope* pleases to call them so. So that if the matter be well sifted, it will be found, that the greatest part of their *justification* depends upon the authority of his *bulls*, and not upon the power, virtue, and grace of Christ revealed in the heart, and renewing of it, as will appear, *First*, From their principle concerning their *sacraments*, which they say confer grace *ex opere operato*. So that if a man partake but of them, he thereby obtains remission of sin, though he remains as he was; the virtue of the *sacraments* making up the want that is in the man. So that this act of submission and faith to the laws of the church, and not any real inward change, is that which justifieth him. As for example; if a man make use of the *Sacrament*, as they call it, *of penance*, so as to tell over his sins to a priest, though he have not true *contrition*, which the Lord hath made absolutely necessary for penitent sinners, but only *attrition*, a figment of their own, that is, if he be sorry he hath sinned, not out of any love to God, or his law which he hath transgressed, but for fear of punishment, yet doth the virtue of the *sacrament*, as they affirm, procure to him remission of sins; so that being absolved by the

Papists' justification depends upon the pope's bulls.

Proof I. Their sacraments.

Papist's penance.

priest, he stands accepted and justified in the sight of God. This man's justification then proceedeth not from his being truly penitent, and in any measure inwardly changed and renewed by the working of God's grace in his heart, but merely from the virtue of the *sacrament*, and authority of the priest, who hath pronounced him *absolved*; so that his justification is from somewhat without him, and not within him.

Pr. II. Papist indulgences.

Secondly, This will yet more appear in the matter of *indulgences*, where remission of all sins, not only past but for years to come, is annexed to the visiting such and such *churches* and *reliques*, saying such and such *prayers*; so that the person that so doth is presently cleared from the guilt of his sin, and justified and accepted in the sight of God. As for example: he that in the great *jubilee* will go to *Rome*, and present himself before the gate of *Peter* and *Paul*, and there receive the *pope's blessing*; or he that will go a pilgrimage to *James'* sepulchre in *Spain*, or to *Mary* of *Loretto*, is, upon the performance of those things, promised forgiveness of sins. Now if we ask them the reason how such things as are not morally good in themselves come to have virtue? they have no other answer but *because of the church and pope's authority*, who being the great treasurer of the magazine of *Christ's merits*, lets them out upon such and such conditions. Thus also the invention of saying *mass* is made a chief instrument of *justification*; for in it they pretend to offer *Christ* daily to the Father a *propitiatory sacrifice* for the sins of the living and dead: so that a man for money can procure *Christ* thus to be offered for him when he pleases; by which offering he is said to obtain remission of sins, and to stand justified in the sight of God. From all which, and much more of this nature which might be mentioned, it doth appear, that the *Papists* place their justifi-

Papist mass what it is.

cation, not so much in any work of holiness really brought forth in them, and real forsaking of iniquity, as in the mere performance of some ceremonies, and a blind belief which their teachers have begotten in them, that the *church* and the *pope* having the absolute dispensation of the *merits of Christ*, have power to make these merits effectual for the remission of sins, and justification of such as will perform those ceremonies. This is the true and real method of *justification* taken by the generality of the church of *Rome*, and highly commended by their public preachers, especially the *monks*, in their sermons to the people, of which I myself have been an ear and an eye-witness; however some of their modern writers have laboured to qualify it in their controversies. This doctrine *Luther* and the *Protestants* then had good reason to deny and oppose; though many of them ran into another extreme, so as to deny *good works to be necessary to justification*, and to preach up *not only remission of sins, but justification by faith alone, without all works, however good.* So that men do not obtain their *justification* according as they are inwardly sanctified and renewed, but are justified merely by believing that *Christ died for them;* and so some may be perfectly justified, though they be lying in gross wickedness; as appears by the example of *David*, who they say was fully and perfectly justified while he was lying in the gross sins of *murder* and *adultery*. As then the *Protestants* have sufficient ground to quarrel and confute the *Papists* concerning those many abuses in the matter of *justification*, showing how the *doctrine of Christ* is thereby vitiated and overturned, and the *word of God* made void by many and useless traditions, the *law of God* neglected, while foolish and needless *ceremonies* are prized and followed, through a false opinion of being justified by the performance of them; and the *merits* and

Luther and the protestants opposing the pope's doctrine of works, fell into the other extreme of no good works necessary to justification.

sufferings of Christ, which is the only *sacrifice* appointed of God for remission of sins, derogated from, by the setting up of a daily *sacrifice* never appointed by God, and chiefly devised out of covetousness to get money by; so the *Protestants* on the other hand, by not rightly establishing and holding forth the *doctrine* of *justification* according as it is delivered in the holy scriptures, have opened a door for the *Papists* to accuse them, as if they were neglecters of good works, enemies to mortification and holiness, such as esteem themselves justified while lying in great sins: by which kind of accusations, for which too great ground hath been given out of the writings of some *rigid Protestants*, the reformation hath been greatly defamed and hindered, and the souls of many ensnared. Whereas, whoever will narrowly look into the matter, may observe these debates to be more *in specie* than *in genere*, seeing both do upon the matter *land in one;* and like two men in a circle, who though they go sundry ways, yet meet at last in the same centre.

Papists' device to get money.

For the *Papists* say, *They obtain remission of sins, and are justified by the merits of Christ, as the same are applied unto them in the use of the sacraments of the church, and are dispensed in the performance of such and such ceremonies, pilgrimages, prayers, and performances, though there be not any inward renewing of the mind, nor knowing of Christ inwardly formed; yet they are remitted and made righteous* ex opere operato; *because of the power and authority accompanying the sacraments and the dispensers of them.*

Papists' belief of justification meets in the same centre with the—

The *Protestants* say, *That they obtain remission of sins, and stand justified in the sight of God by virtue of the* merits *and* sufferings *of Christ, not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous, they resting on him and his righteousness by* faith; *which* faith, *the act of believing, is not imputed unto them for righteousness.*

—Protestants' belief.

So saith the Westminster Confession of Faith, chap. 11. Sect. 1.

So the *justification* of neither here is placed in any inward renewing of the mind, or by virtue of any spiritual birth, or formation of Christ in them; but only by a bare application of the death and sufferings of Christ outwardly performed for them: whereof the one lays hold on a faith resting upon them, and hoping to be justified by them alone; the other by the saying of some outward prayers and ceremonies, which they judge makes the death of Christ effectual unto them. I except here, being unwilling to wrong any, what things have been said as to the necessity of inward holiness, either by some *modern Papists*, or some *modern Protestants*, who in so far as they have laboured after a midst betwixt these two extremes have come near to the truth, as by some citations out of them hereafter to be mentioned will appear: though this doctrine hath not since the apostacy, so far as ever I could observe, been so distinctly and evidently held forth according to the scripture's testimony, as it hath pleased God to reveal it and preach it forth in this day, by the witnesses of his truth whom he hath raised to that end; which *doctrine*, though it be briefly held forth and comprehended in the thesis itself, yet I shall a little more fully explain, and show the state of the controversy as it stands betwixt us and those that now oppose us.

State of the controversy.

Expl. 1. §. III. First then, as by the explanation of the former thesis appears, we renounce all natural power and ability in ourselves, in order to bring us out of our lost and fallen condition and first nature; and confess, that as of ourselves we are able to do nothing that is good, so neither can we procure remission of sins or justification by any act of our own, so as to merit it, or draw it as a debt from God due unto us; but we acknowledge all to be *of* and *from* his *love*, which is the original and fundamental cause of our acceptance.

Justification springs of and from the love of God

Secondly, God manifested this *love* towards us, in the sending of his beloved Son the Lord *Jesus Christ* into the world, who gave himself for us an *offering* and a *sacrifice* to God, for a *sweet-smelling savour*; and having made peace through the blood of his *cross*, that he might reconcile us unto himself, and by the Eternal Spirit offered himself without spot unto God, and suffered for our sins, the *just* for the *unjust*, that he might bring us unto God. Expl. 2. Christ giving himself a sacrifice for us.

Thirdly then, Forasmuch as all men who have come to man's estate (the man *Jesus* only excepted) have sinned, therefore all have need of this Saviour, to remove the wrath of God from them due to their offences; in this respect he is truly said to *have borne the iniquities of us all in his body on the tree*, and therefore is the *only Mediator*, having qualified the wrath of God towards us; so that our former sins stand not in our way, being by virtue of his most satisfactory sacrifice removed and pardoned. Neither do we think that remission of sins is to be expected, sought, or obtained any other way, or by any works or sacrifice whatsoever; though, as has been said formerly, they may come to partake of this remission that are ignorant of the history. So then Christ by his death and sufferings hath reconciled us to God, even while we are enemies; that is, he offers reconciliation unto us; we are put in a capacity of being reconciled; God is willing to forgive us our iniquities, and to accept us, as is well expressed by the apostle, 2 *Cor.* v. 19. *God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them, and hath put in us the word of reconciliation.* And therefore the apostle, in the next verses, entreats them in *Christ's stead to be reconciled to God;* intimating that the wrath of God being removed by the obedience of *Christ Jesus*, he is willing to be reconciled unto them, and Expl. 3. The remission of sins. The only mediator betwixt God and man.

ready to remit the sins that are past, if they repent.

A two-fold redemption.

We consider then our redemption in a two-fold respect or state, both which in their own nature are perfect, though in their application to us the one is not, nor can be, without respect to the other.

I. The redemption of Christ without us.

The First is the redemption performed and accomplished by *Christ for us* in his crucified body without us: the other is the redemption wrought by *Christ in us*, which no less properly is called and accounted a redemption than the former. The first then is that whereby a man, as he stands in the fall, is put into a capacity of salvation, and hath conveyed unto him a measure of that power, virtue, spirit, life, and grace that was in *Christ Jesus*, which, as the free gift of God, is able to counter-balance, overcome, and root out the evil seed, wherewith we are naturally, as in the fall, leavened.

II. The redemption wrought by Christ in us.

The Second is that whereby we witness and know this pure and perfect redemption *in ourselves*, purifying, cleansing, and redeeming us from the power of corruption, and bringing us into unity, favour, and friendship with God. By the first of these two, we that were lost in *Adam*, plunged into the bitter and corrupt seed, unable of ourselves to do any good thing, but naturally joined and united to evil, forward and propense to all iniquity, servants and slaves to the power and spirit of darkness, are, notwithstanding all this, so far reconciled to God by the death of his Son, while enemies, that we are put into a capacity of salvation, having the glad tidings of the gospel of peace offered unto us, and God is reconciled unto us in Christ, calls and invites us to himself, in which respect we understand these scriptures; **He slew the enmity in himself. He loved us first; seeing us in our blood, he said unto us, Live; he who*

*Eph. ii.15 1 John iv. 10. Ezek xvi. 6. 1Pet. ii. 22, 24. & iii. 18.

did not sin his own self; bare our sins in his own body on the tree; and he died for our sins, the just for the unjust.

By the second, we witness this capacity brought into act, whereby receiving and not resisting the purchase of his death, to wit, the light, spirit, and grace of Christ revealed in us, we witness and possess a real, true, and inward redemption from the power and prevalency of sin, and so come to be truly and really redeemed, justified, and made righteous, and to a sensible union and friendship with God. Thus *he died for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity;* and thus *we know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death.* This last follows the first in order, and is a consequence of it, proceeding from it, as an *effect* from its *cause*; so as none could have enjoyed the last, without the first had been, such being the will of God; so also can none now partake of the first, but as he witnesseth the last. Wherefore as to us, they are both causes of our justification; the first the *procuring efficient*, the other the *formal cause.*

Tit. ii. 14. Phil. iii. 10.

Fourthly, We understand not by this *justification by Christ* barely the *good works even wrought by the Spirit of Christ;* for they, as *Protestants* truly affirm, are rather an effect of *justification* than the cause of it; but we understand the *formation of Christ in us, Christ born and brought forth in us,* from which good works as naturally proceed as fruit from a fruitful tree. It is this *inward birth in us, bringing forth righteousness and holiness in us, that doth justify us;* which having removed and done away the contrary nature and spirit that did bear rule and bring condemnation, now is in dominion over all *in* our hearts. Those then that come to know *Christ* thus formed in them, do enjoy him wholly and undivided, who is *the LORD our RIGHTEOUSNESS,* Jer. xxiii. 6. This is

Expl. 4.

The formation of Christ in us begets good works.

to be clothed with *Christ*, and to have put him on, whom *God* therefore truly accounteth righteous and just. This is so far from being the doctrine of *Papists*, that as the generality of them do not understand it, so the learned among them oppose it, and dispute against it, and particularly *Bellarmine*. Thus then, as I may say, the formal cause of justification is not the works, to speak properly, they being but an effect of it; but this inward birth, this *Jesus* brought forth in the heart, who is the well-beloved, whom the Father cannot but accept, and all those who thus are sprinkled with the *blood of Jesus*, and washed with it. By this also comes that communication of the goods of *Christ* unto us, *by which we come to be made partakers of the divine nature*, as saith *Peter*, 2. *Pet.* i. 4. and are made one with him, as the branches with the vine, and have a title and right to what he hath done and suffered for us; so that his obedience becomes ours, his righteousness ours, his death and sufferings ours. And by this nearness we come to have a sense of his sufferings, and to suffer with his seed, that yet lies pressed and crucified in the hearts of the ungodly, and so travail with it, and for its redemption, and for the repentance of those souls that in it are crucifying as yet the *Lord of Glory*. Even as the apostle *Paul, who by his sufferings* is said to *fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ for his body, which is the church.* Though this be a mystery sealed up from all the wise men that are yet ignorant of this seed in themselves, and oppose it, nevertheless some *Protestants* speak of this justification by *Christ* inwardly put on, as shall hereafter be recited in its place.

Christ's obedience, righteousness, death, and sufferings are ours.

Expl. 5. Lastly, Though we place remission of sins in the *righteousness and obedience of Christ performed by him in the flesh*, as to what pertains to the remote procuring cause, and that we hold ourselves *formally justified by Christ Jesus formed and brought forth in*

us, yet can we not, as some *Protestants* have unwarily done, *exclude* works *from justification.* For though properly we be not justified *for them*, yet are we justified *in* them; and they are necessary, even as *causa sine qua non*, i. e. *the cause, without which none are justified.* For the denying of this, as it is contrary to the scripture's testimony, so it hath brought a great scandal to the Protestant religion, opened the mouths of *Papists*, and made many too secure while they have believed to be justified without good works. Moreover, though it be not so safe to say *they are meritorious*, yet seeing they are rewarded, many of those called the *Fathers* have not spared to use the word [*merit*,] which some of us have perhaps also done in a qualified sense, but no ways to infer the *Popish abuses* above mentioned. And lastly, if we had that notion of *good works* which most *Protestants* have, we could freely agree to make them not only not necessary, but reject them as hurtful, viz. *That the best works even of the saints are defiled and polluted.* For though we judge so of the best works performed by man, endeavouring a conformity to the outward law by his own strength, and in his own will, yet we believe that such *works* as naturally proceed from this spiritual birth and formation of Christ in us are *pure* and *holy*, even as the *root* from which they come; and therefore God accepts them, justifies us in them, and rewards us for them of his own *free grace.* The state of the controversy being thus laid down, these following *positions* do from hence arise in the next place to be proved.

Good works are not excluded justification.

§. IV. First. *That the obedience, sufferings, and death of Christ is that by which the soul obtains remission of sins, and is the procuring cause of that grace, by whose inward working* Christ *comes to be formed inwardly, and the soul to be made conformable unto him, and so just and justified.* And that therefore, in respect of this capacity and offer of grace, *God*

Posit. 1.

is said to be *reconciled;* not as if he were actually *reconciled*, or did actually justify, or account any just, so long as they remain in their sins really impure and unjust.

Posit.2. Secondly, *That it is by this inward birth of Christ in man that man is made just, and therefore so accounted by God:* wherefore, to be plain, we are thereby, and not till that be brought forth in us, *formally*, if we must use that word, *justified* in the sight of God; because *justification* is both more properly, and frequently in scripture taken in its proper signification for making one just, and not reputing one merely such, and is all one with *sanctification.*

Posit.3. Thirdly, That since *good works* as naturally follow from this birth as heat from fire, therefore are they of *absolute necessity to justification*, as *Causa sine qua non*, i. e. though not as the cause *for which*, yet as that *in which* we are, and without which we cannot be, justified. And though they be not *meritorious*, and draw no debt upon God, yet he cannot but accept and reward them: for it is contrary to his nature to deny his own, since they may be perfect in their kind, as proceeding from a pure holy birth and root. Wherefore their judgment is false and against the truth that say, *that the holiest works of the saints are defiled and sinful in the sight of God:* for these *good works* are not the works of the law, excluded by the apostle from justification.

Good works are Causa sine qua non--- of justification.

Posit.1. §. V. As to the first, I prove it from *Rom.* iii. 25. *Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.* Here the apostle holds forth the extent and efficacy of *Christ's death*, showing that thereby, and by faith therein, remission of sins that are past is obtained, as being that wherein the forbearance of God is exercised towards mankind. So that though men for the sins they daily commit deserve eternal death, and that the wrath of God

Proof I. The efficacy of Christ's death to redeem man out of evil.

should lay hold upon them; yet, by virtue of that most *satisfactory sacrifice* of *Christ Jesus*, the grace and seed of God moves in love towards them, during the day of their visitation; yet not so as not to strike against the evil, for that must be burnt up and destroyed, but to redeem man out of the evil.

Secondly, If God were perfectly reconciled with men, and did esteem them just while they are actually unjust, and do continue in their sins, then should God have no controversy with them;* how comes he then so often to complain, and to expostulate so much throughout the whole scripture with such as our adversaries confess to be justified, telling them *that their sins separate betwixt him and them?* Isai. lix. 2. For where there is a perfect and full reconciliation, there is no separation. Yea, from this doctrine it necessarily follows, either that such for whom *Christ* died, and whom he hath reconciled, never sin, or that when they do so, they are still reconciled, and their sins make not the least separation from God: yea, that they are justified in their sins. From whence also would follow this abominable consequence, that the good works and greatest sins of such are alike in the sight of God, seeing neither the one serves to justify them, nor the other to break their reconciliation, which occasions great security, and opens a door to every lewd practice. Pr. II.

Thirdly, This would make void the whole practical doctrine of the gospel, and make faith itself needless. For if faith and repentance, and the other conditions called for throughout the Pr. III.

* I do not only speak concerning men before *conversion*, who afterwards are converted, whom yet some of our antagonists, called *Antinomians*, do aver were justified from the beginning; but also touching those who according to the common opinion of *Protestants* have been converted; whom albeit they confess they persist always in some *misdeeds*, and sometimes in *heinous sins*, as is manifest in *David's* adultery and murder, yet they assert to be perfectly and wholly justified.

gospel, be a qualification upon our part necessary to be performed, then, before this be performed by us, we are either fully reconciled to God, or but in a capacity of being reconciled to God, he being ready to reconcile and justify us as these conditions are performed; which latter, if granted, is according to the truth we profess. And if we are already perfectly reconciled and justified before these conditions are performed, (which conditions are of that nature that they cannot be performed at one time, but are to be done all one's lifetime,) then can they not be said to be absolutely needful; which is contrary to the very express testimony of scripture, which is acknowledged by all Christians: *For without faith it is impossible to please God. They that believe not are condemned already, because they believe not in the only begotten Son of God. Except ye repent ye cannot be saved: for if ye live after the flesh ye shall die.* And of those that were converted; *I will remove your candlestick from you, unless ye repent.* Should I mention all the scriptures that positively and evidently prove this, I might transcribe much of all the doctrinal part of the *Bible.* For since Christ said, *It is finished,* and did *finish his work* sixteen hundred years ago and upwards; if he so fully perfected redemption then, and did actually reconcile every one that is to be saved, not simply opening a door of mercy for them, offering the sacrifice of his body, by which they may obtain remission of their sins when they repent, and communicating unto them a measure of his grace, by which they may see their sins, and be able to repent; but really making them to be reputed as just, either before they believe, as say the *Antinomians,* or after they have assented to the truth of the history of Christ, or are sprinkled with the baptism of water, while nevertheless they are actually unjust, so that no part of their redemption is to be wrought by him now, as

Heb. xi. 6. John iii. 18 Luke xiii. 3. Rom. viii. 13.

Apoc. ii. 5.

A door of mercy opened by Christ upon repentance.

The Antinomians' opinion of reconciliation and justification.

to their *reconciliation* and *justification;* then the whole doctrinal part of the *bible* is useless, and of no profit: in vain were the apostles sent forth to preach repentance and remission of sins; and in vain do all the preachers bestow their *labour*, spend their *breath*, and give forth *writings;* yea, much more in vain do the people spend their money which they give them for preaching; seeing it is all but *Actum agere*, but a vain and ineffectual essay, to do that which is already perfectly done without them.

But lastly, To pass by their human labours, as not worth the disputing whether they be needful or not, since (as we shall hereafter show) themselves confess the *best* of them is *sinful;* this also makes void the present intercession of Christ for men. What will become of that great article of faith, by which we affirm, *That he sits at the right hand of God, daily making intercession for us; and for which end the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered?* For Christ maketh not intercession for those that are not in a possibility of salvation; that is absurd. Our adversaries will not admit that he prayed for the world at all; and to pray for those that are already reconciled, and perfectly justified, is to no purpose: to pray for remission of sins is yet more needless, if all be remitted, past, present, and to come. Indeed there is not any solid solving of *this*, but by acknowledging according to the *truth*, That Christ by his death removed the wrath of God, so far as to obtain remission of sins for as many as receive that *grace* and *light* that he communicates unto them, and hath purchased for them by his *blood;* which, as they believe in, they come to know remission of sins past, and power to save them from sin, and to wipe it away, so often as they may fall into it by unwatchfulness or weakness, if, applying themselves to this grace, they truly repent; for *to as many as receive him,*

Pr. IV.

Christ's daily making intercession for us.

he gives power to become the sons of God: so none are *sons*, none are *justified*, none *reconciled*, until they thus receive him in that little *seed* in their hearts: *And life eternal is offered to those who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, honour, and immortality: for if the righteous man depart from his righteousness, his righteousness shall be remembered no more.* And therefore on the other part, none are longer sons of God, and justified, than they patiently continue in righteousness and well-doing. And therefore Christ lives always making intercession, during the day of every man's visitation, that they may be converted: and when men are in some measure converted, he makes intercession that they may continue and go on, and not faint, nor go back again. Much more might be said to confirm this truth; but I go on to take notice of the common objections against it, which are the arguments made use of to propagate the *errors* contrary to it.

§. VI. The *first* and *chief* is drawn from that saying of the apostle before-mentioned, 2 *Cor.* v. 18, 19. *God hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ: God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.*

Obj. 1. From hence they seek to infer, *That Christ fully perfected the work of reconciliation while he was on earth.*

Answ. I answer; If by [*reconciliation*] be understood the removing of wrath, and the purchase of that grace by which we may come to be reconciled, we agree to it; but that that place speaks no more, appears from the place itself: for when the apostle speaks in the *perfect time*, saying, *He hath reconciled us*, he speaks of himself and the saints; who having received the grace of God purchased by Christ, were through faith in him actually reconciled. But as to the *world*, he saith [*reconciling*] not [*reconciled*]; which *reconciling*, though it denotes a time some-

The difference between reconciled to Christ, and reconciling.

what past, yet it is by the *imperfect time*, denoting that the thing begun was not perfected. For this work Christ began towards all in the days of his flesh, yea, and long before; for *He was the mediator from the beginning, and the lamb slain from the foundation of the world:* but in his flesh, after he had perfectly *fulfilled the law*, and the *righteousness* thereof, had rent the *veil*, and made way for the more clear and universal revelation of the gospel to all, both *Jew* and *Gentile;* he *gave up himself a most satisfactory sacrifice for sin;* which becomes effectual to as many as receive him in his inward appearance, in his *light* in the heart. Again, this very place showeth that no other reconciliation is intended, but the opening of a door of mercy upon God's part, and a removing of wrath for sins that are past; so as men, notwithstanding their sins, are stated in a capacity of salvation: for the apostle, in the following verse, saith, *Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God.* For if their *reconciliation* had already been perfectly accomplished, what need any entreating then to be reconciled? *Ambassadors* are not sent after a *peace* already perfected, and reconciliation made, to entreat for a reconciliation; for that implies a manifest contradiction.

Obj. 2. Secondly, They object, *verse* 21st of the same chapter, *For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.* From whence they argue, *That as our sin is imputed to Christ, who had no sin; so Christ's righteousness is imputed to us, without our being righteous.*

Answ. But this interpretation is easily rejected; for though *Christ bare our sins*, and *suffered for us*, and was among men *accounted a sinner*, and *numbered among transgressors;* yet that God reputed him a sinner, is no where proved. For it is said, *He was found* Heb. vii. 26. 1 Pet ii. 22.

before him holy, harmless, and undefiled, neither was there found any guile in his mouth. That we deserved these things, and much more for our sins, which he endured in obedience to the father, and according to his counsel, is true; but that ever God reputed him a *sinner*, is denied: neither did he ever die that *we* should be reputed righteous, though no more really such than *he* was a sinner, as hereafter appears. For indeed, if this argument hold, it might be stretched to that length, as to become very pleasing to wicked men that love to abide in their sins: for if we be made *righteous, as Christ was made a sinner, merely by imputation; then as there was no sin, not in the least, in Christ*, so it would follow, *that there needed no more righteousness, no more holiness, no more inward sanctification in us, than there was sin in him.* So then, by his [*being made sin for us*] must be understood his suffering for our sins, that we might be made partakers of the grace purchased by him; by the workings whereof we are made the righteousness of God in him. For that the apostle understood here a being made really righteous, and not merely a being reputed such, appears by what *follows*, seeing in *vers.* 14,15,16. of the following chapter, he argues largely against any supposed *agreement of light and darkness, righteousness and unrighteousness;* which must needs be admitted, if men are to be reckoned ingrafted in Christ, and real members of him, merely by an imputative righteousness, wholly without them, while they themselves are actually unrighteous. And indeed it may be thought strange, how some men have made this so fundamental an article of their faith, which is so contrary to the whole strain of the gospel: a thing which Christ in none of all his *sermons* and *gracious speeches* ever willed any to rely upon; always recommending to us works, as instrumental in our justification. And the more it is to be admired, because that sentence or term (so frequently in

Men's imputed righteousness solidly refuted.

their mouths, and so often pressed by them, as the very *basis* of their hope and confidence) to wit, *The imputed righteousness of Christ*, is not to be found in all the *bible*, at least, as to my observation. Thus have I passed through the first part, and that the more briefly, because many, who assert this *justification* by bare imputation, do nevertheless confess, that even the elect are not justified until they be converted; that is, not until this imputative justification be applied to them by the Spirit.

Christ's imputed righteousness not found in all the Bible.

§. VII. I come then to the second thing proposed by me, which is, *That it is by this inward birth, or Christ formed within, that we are* (so to speak) *formally justified in the sight of God.* I suppose I have said enough already to demonstrate how much we ascribe to the *death* and *sufferings of Christ*, as that whereby satisfaction is made to the justice of God, remission of sins obtained, and this *grace* and *seed* purchased, by and from which this birth proceeds. The thing now to be proved is, *That by Christ Jesus formed in us, we are justified, or made just.* Let it be marked, I use *justification* in this sense upon this occasion.

Posit. I. By Christ formed within we are justified.

First then, I prove this by that of the apostle *Paul*, 1 Cor. vi. 11. *And such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.* First, This [*justified*] here understood, must needs be *a being really made just*, and not *a being merely imputed such*; else [*sanctified*] and [*washed*] might be reputed a being *esteemed* so, and not a being *really* so; and then it quite overturns the whole intent of the context. For the apostle showing them in the preceding *verses*, how the *unrighteous cannot inherit the kingdom of God*, and descending to the several *species of wickedness*, subsumes, *That they were sometimes such, but now are not any more such.* Wherefore, as they are now *washed* and *sanctified*, so are they *justified*:

Proof I.

Justified, i. e. being made just really, not by imputation.

for if this *justification* were not *real*, then it might be alleged that the *Corinthians* had not forsaken these evils; but, though they still continued in them, were notwithstanding *justified:* which as in itself it is most absurd, so it very clearly overturneth the very import and intent of the place; as if the *Corinthians* turning *Christians* had not wrought any real change in them, but had only been a belief of some barren notions, which had wrought no alteration in their affections, will, or manner of life. For my own part, I neither see any thing, nor could ever yet hear or read any thing, that with any colour of reason did evince [*justified*] in this place to be understood any other ways than in its own proper and genuine interpretation of being made *just.* And for the more clear understanding hereof, let it be considered, that this word [*justify*] is derived either from the substantive *justice*, or the adjective *just:* both which words import the *substantive*, that true and real *virtue in the soul*, as it is in itself; to wit, it signifies *really*, and not *suppositively*, that excellent quality expressed and understood among men by the word [*justice*]; and the adjective [*just*] as applied, signifies a man or woman who is *just*, that is, in whom this quality of justice is stated: for it would not only be great impropriety, but also manifest falsity, to call a man *just*, merely by *supposition;* especially if he were really *unjust.* Now this word [*justify*] formed from *justice*, or *just*, doth beyond all question signify a *making just;* it being nothing else but a composition of the verb *facio*, and the adjective *justus*, which is nothing else than thus, *justifico*, i. e. *justum facio* I make just; and [*justified*] of *justus* and *fio*, as *justus fio*, I become just, and *justificatus*, i. e. *justus factus*, I am made just. Thus also it is with verbs of this kind, as *sanctifico*, from *sanctus*, holy, and *facio; honorifico*,

The derivation of the word justify considered, &c.

from *honor* and *facio; sacrifico*, from *sacer* and *facio:* all which are still understood of the subject really and truly endued with that virtue and quality from which the verb is derived. Therefore, as none are said to be *sanctified* that are really *unholy*, while they are such; so neither can any be truly said to be *justified*, while they actually remain *unjust*. Only this verb *justify* hath, in a metaphorical and figurative sense, been otherwise taken, to wit, in a *law* sense; as when a man really guilty of a crime is freed from the punishment of his sin, he is said to be *justified;* that is, put in the place as if he were *just*. For this use of the word hath proceeded from that true supposition, *That none ought to be acquitted, but the innocent.* Hence also that manner of speaking, *I will justify such a man*, or *I will justify this or that*, is used from the supposition that the person and thing is really justifiable: and where there is an error and abuse in the matter, so far there is also in the expression.

Justified none are, while they actually remain unjust.

This is so manifest and apparent, that *Paræus*, a chief Protestant, and a *Calvinist* also in his opinion, acknowledges this; "We never at any time "said," saith he, "nor thought, that the right-"eousness of Christ was imputed to us, that by "him we should be named *formally just*, and not "be so, as we have divers times already showed; "for that would no less soundly fight with right "reason, than if a guilty man absolved in judgment "should say, that he himself was *formally just* by "the clemency of the judge granting him his life." Now is it not strange, that men should be so facile in a matter of so great concernment, as to build the stress of their acceptance with God upon a mere borrowed and metaphorical signification, to the excluding, or at least esteeming not necessary, that without which the scripture saith expressly, *No man shall ever see God?* For if *holiness* be requisite and necessary, of which this is said, then

Paræus de Just. cont. Bell. l. 2. c. 7. p. 469.

Holiness required, therefore good works are.

must *good works* also; unless our adversaries can show us an *holy man* without *good works*. But, moreover, [*justified*] in this figurative sense is used for *approved;* and indeed for the most part, if not always in scripture, when the word [*justify*] is used, it is taken in the worst part; that is, that as the use of the word that way is an usurpation, so it is spoken of such as usurp the thing to themselves, while it properly doth not belong unto them; as will appear to those that will be at the pains to examine these places; *Exod.* xxiii. 7. *Job* ix. 20. & xxvii. 5. *Prov.* xvii. 15. *Isai.* v. 23. *Jer.* iii. 11. *Ezek.* xvi. 51, 52. *Luke* x. 29. & xvi. 15. which are all spoken of men *justifying the wicked*, or of *wicked men justifying themselves;* that is, approving themselves in their wickedness. If it be at any time in this signification taken in good part, it is very seldom, and that so obvious and plain by the context, as leaves no scruple. But the question is not so much of the use of the *word*, where it is passingly or occasionally used, as where the very doctrine of *justification* is handled. Where indeed to mistake it, *viz.* in its proper place, so as to content ourselves with an *imaginary justification*, while God requires a *real*, is of most dangerous consequence. For the disquisition of which let it be considered, that in all these places to the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, *Galatians*, and elsewhere, where the apostle handles this theme, the word may be taken in its own proper signification without any absurdity. As, where it is often asserted in the above-mentioned epistles to the *Romans* and *Galatians*, That *a man cannot be justified by the law of* Moses, *nor by the works of the law;* there is no absurdity nor danger in understanding it according to its own proper signification, to wit, that a man cannot be made *just* by the *law* of *Moses;* seeing this so well agrees with that saying of the same apostle, That *the law makes nothing perfect.* And also where it is said, *We are justified*

Justified, in its proper signification.

by faith, it may be very well understood of being *made just*; seeing it is also said, That *faith purifies the heart*; and no doubt the *pure in heart* are just; and *the just live by faith*. Again, where it is said, *We are justified by grace, we are justified by Christ, we are justified by the Spirit*; it is no ways absurd to understand it of being *made just*, seeing by his spirit and grace he doth make men *just*. But to understand it universally the other way, merely for *acceptance* and *imputation*, would infer great absurdities, as may be proved at large; but because I judged it would be acknowledged, I forbear at present for brevity's sake. But further, in the most weighty places where this word *justify* is used in scripture, with an immediate relation to the doctrine of *justification*, our adversaries must needs acknowledge it to be understood of *making just*, and not barely in the legal acceptation: as first, in that of 1 *Cor.* vi. 11. *But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified*, as I before have proved; which also many Protestants are forced to acknowledge. "Neither diffide we," saith *Thysius*, "because of the most great and strict connexion, that "*justification* doth sometimes seem also to comprehend *sanctification* as a consequence, as in *Rom.* "viii. 30. *Tit.* iii. 7. 1 *Cor.* vi. 11. *And such some-* "*times were ye, but ye are washed, &c.*" *Zanchius*, having spoken concerning this sense of justification, adds, saying; "There is another signification of the "word, *viz.* for a man from *unjust* to be made *just*, "even as *sanctified* signifies from *unholy* to be made "*holy*: in which signification the apostle said, in the "place above-cited, *And such were some of you, &c.* "that is, of unclean ye are made holy, and of unjust ye are made just by the Holy Spirit, for "Christ's sake, in whom ye have believed. Of this "signification is that, *Rev.* xxii. 11. *Let him that is* "*just, be just still*; that is, really from just become "more just, even as from unjust he became just.

Justification signifies a making just.

Thysius Disp. de Just. Thes. 3.

Zanchius in c. p. 2. ad Eph. v. 4. loc. de Just.

"And according to this signification the *Fathers*, "and especially *Augustine*, have interpreted this "word." Thus far he. *H. Bullinger*, on the same place, 1 *Cor.* vi. speaketh thus; "By divers "words," saith he, "the apostle signifies the same "thing, when he saith, *Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified.*"

H. Bulling.

Pr. II. Secondly, In that excellent saying of the apostle, so much observed, *Rom.* viii. 30. *Whom he called, them he also justified, and whom he justified, them he also glorified:* this is commonly called the *golden chain*, as being acknowledged to comprehend the method and order of salvation. And therefore, if [*justified*] were not understood here in its proper signification of being *made just*, sanctification would be excluded out of this chain. And truly it is very worthy of observation, that the apostle, in this succinct and compendious account, makes the word [*justified*] to comprehend all betwixt *calling* and *glorifying;* thereby clearly insinuating, that the being really *righteous* is that only *medium* by which from our *calling* we pass to *glorification.* Almost all do acknowledge the word *to be so taken* in this place; not only so, but most of those who oppose are forced to acknowledge, that as this is the most proper, so the most common signification of it: thus divers famous *Protestants* acknowledge. "We are not," saith *D. Chamierus*, such "impertinent esteemers of words, as to be ignor-"ant, nor yet such importunate sophists, as to de-"ny that the words *justification* and *sanctification* do "infer one another; yea, we know that the saints "are chiefly for this reason so called, because "that in Christ they have received remission of "sins: and we read in the revelations, *Let him "that is just, be just still;* which cannot be un-"derstood, except of the fruit of inherent right-"eousness. Nor do we deny, but perhaps in other "places they may be promiscuously taken, espe-

Righteousness the only medium by which from our calling we pass to glorification.

D. Cham. Tom. 3. de Sanct. l. 10. p. 1.

"[illegible]ly by the *Fathers*." "I take," saith *Beza*, "the name of *justification* largely, so as it compre-"hends whatsoever we acquire from Christ, as well "by imputation, as by the effic[illegible] of the Spirit in "[illegible]nctifying us. So likewise [illegible] word *justi-"fication* taken, *Rom.* viii. 30." [illegible]*lanchton* saith, "That to be justified by faith, signifies in scripture "not only to be pronounced just, but also of un-"righteous to be made righteous." Also some chief *Protestants*, though not so clearly, yet in part, hinted at [illegible] doctrine, whereby we ascribe unto the *death* of [illegible] remission of sins, and the work of justification [illegible] the *grace of the Spirit* acquired by his death. *Martinus Boræus*, explaining that place of the apostle, Rom. iv. 25. *Who was given for our sins, and rose again for our justification*, saith: "There are two things beheld in Christ, which are "necessary to our justification; the one is his death, "the other is his arising from the dead. By his "death, the sins of this world behoved to be expi-"ated: by his rising from the dead, it pleased "the same goodness of God to give the Holy Spirit, "*whereby both* the gospel is believed, and the "righteousness, lost by the fault of the first *Adam*, "is restored." And afterwards he saith; "The "apostle expresseth both parts in these words, *Who* "*was given for our sins, &c.* In his death is beheld "the satisfaction for sin; in his resurrection, the "*gift* of the Holy Spirit, by which our justifica-"tion is perfected." And again, the same man saith elsewhere; "Both these kinds of righteous-"ness are therefore contained in *justification*, neither "can the one be separate from the other. So that "in the definition of *justification*, the merit of the "blood of Christ is included, both with the remis-"sion of sins, and with the gift of the Holy Spirit "of justification and regeneration." *Martinus Bucerus* saith; "Seeing by one sin of *Adam* the "world was lost, the grac[illegible] Christ hath not only

Beza in c. 3. ad Tit. ver. 7.

Melanct. in Apol. Conf. Aug.

Boræus, in Gen. c. 15. Credidit Abraham. Deo. p. 161.

Idem lib. 3. Reg. cap. 9. v. 4. p. 681.

Bucerus, in Rom. 4. ad. ver. 16.

"abolished that one sin, and death which came by "it; but hath together taken away those infinite "sins, and also led into full justification as many "as are of Christ; so that God now not only re-"mits unto them *Adam's* sin, and their own, but "also gives them therewith the Spirit of a solid "and perfect righteousness, which renders us con-"form unto the image of the first begotten." And upon these words [*by Jesus Christ*] he saith; "We "always judge that the whole benefit of Christ "tends to this, that we might be strong through "the gift of righteousness, being rightly and or-"derly adorned with all virtue, that is, restored to "the image of God." And lastly, *William Forbes*, our countryman, bishop of *Edinburgh*, saith; "Whensoever the scripture makes mention of the "justification before God, as speaketh *Paul*, and "from him (besides others) *Augustine*, it appears "that the word [*justify*] necessarily signifies not "only to pronounce just in a law sense, but also "really and inherently to make just; because that "God doth justify a wicked man otherwise than "earthly judges. For he, when he justifies a wick-"ed or unjust man, doth indeed pronounce him as "these also do; but by pronouncing him just, be-"cause his judgment is according to truth, he also "makes him really of unjust to become just." And again, the same man, upon the same occasion, answering the more rigid *Protestants*, who say, *That God first justifies, and then makes just;* he adds: "But let them have a care, lest by too great and "empty subtilty, unknown both to the scriptures "and the fathers, they lessen and diminish the "weight and dignity of so great and divine a ben-"efit, so much celebrated in the scripture, to wit, "*justification* of the wicked. For if to the formal "reason of *justification* of the ungodly doth not at "all belong his *justification*, (so to speak,) *i. e.* his "being made righteous, then in the justification

Righteousness a conformity to the image of the first begotten.

W. Forbes in consider Modest. de Just lib. 2. Sect. 8.

How God justifies the wicked.

" *of* a sinner, although he be justified, yet the stain " of sin is not taken away, but remains the same " in his soul as before justification: and so, not- " withstanding the benefit of justification, he re- " mains as before, unjust and a sinner; and nothing " is taken away, but the guilt and obligation to " pain, and the offence and enmity of God through " non-imputation. But both the scriptures and " fathers do affirm, that in the *justification* of a " sinner, their sins are not only remitted, forgiven, " covered, not imputed, but also taken away, blot- " ted out, cleansed, washed, purged, and very far " removed from us, as appears from many places " of the holy scriptures." The same *Forbes* shows us at length, in the following chapter, That this was the confessed judgment of the *fathers*, out of the writings of those who hold the contrary opinion; some whereof, out of him, I shall note. As, first, *Calvin* saith, " That the judgment of *Augustine*, or " at least his manner of speaking, is not throughout " to be received; who although he took from man " all praise of righteousness, and ascribed all to the " grace of God, yet he refers grace to sanctification, " by which we are regenerate through the Spirit " unto newness of life." *Chemnitius* saith, That they " do not deny, but that the fathers take the word " [*justify*] for *renewing*, by which works of right- " eousness are wrought in us by the Spirit." And p. 130. " I am not ignorant, that the fathers indeed " often use the word [*justify*] in this signification, " to wit, of *making just*." *Zanchius* saith, " That " the fathers, and chiefly *Augustine*, interpret the " word [*justify*] according to this signification, to " wit, of *making just*; so that, according to them, to " be *justified* was no other than of *unjust* to be made " *just*, through the grace of God for Christ." He mentioneth more, but this may suffice to our pupose.

Calv. Inst. l. 3. c. 11. Sect. 15.

Chemnit. in Exam. Conc. Trid. de Just. p. 129.

Zanchius in c. 2. ad Ep. ver. 4. loc. de Just. Thes. 13.

§. VIII. Having thus sufficiently proved, that by *justification* is to be understood a really being *made*

Asser. I.

righteous, I do boldly affirm, and that not only from a *notional knowledge*, but from a *real, inward experimental feeling* of the thing, That the *immediate, nearest*, or *formal cause* (if we must in condescendence to some use this word) of a man's justification in the sight of God, is, the *revelation of Jesus Christ in the soul*, changing, altering, and renewing the mind, by whom (even the author of this inward work) thus formed and revealed, we are truly justified and accepted in the sight of God. For it is as we are thus covered and clothed with him, in whom the Father is always well pleased, that we may *draw near to God*, and stand with confidence before his throne, being purged by the *blood of Jesus* inwardly poured into our souls, and clothed with his life and righteousness therein revealed. And this is that order and method of salvation held forth by the apostle in that divine saying, *Rom.* v. 10. *For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.* For the apostle first holding forth the reconciliation wrought by the death of Christ, wherein God is near to receive and redeem man, holds forth his *salvation* and *justification* to be by the *life of Jesus.* Now, that this *life* is an *inward, spiritual* thing revealed in the soul, whereby it is renewed and brought forth out of *death*, where it naturally hath been by the *fall*, and so quickened and made alive unto God, the same apostle shows, *Eph.* ii. 5. *Even when we were dead in sins and trespasses, he hath quickened us together in Christ (by whose grace ye are saved) and hath raised us up together.* Now this none will deny to be the inward work of renovation, and therefore the apostle gives that reason of their being *saved by grace;* which is the inward virtue and power of Christ in the soul: but of this place more hereafter. Of the revelation of this *inward life* the apostle also speaketh, 2 *Cor.* iv. 10. *That the life also of Jesus might*

Christ revealed and formed in the soul of a man, is the formal cause of man's justification.

Proof I.

be made manifest in our bodies; and ver. 11. *That the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh.* Now this inward *life of Jesus* is that *whereby*, as is before observed, he said, *we are saved.*

Pr. II.

Secondly, *That it is by this revelation of Jesus Christ, and the new creation in us, that we are justified*, doth evidently appear from that excellent saying of the apostle included in the proposition itself, *Tit.* iii. 5. *According to his mercy he hath saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, &c.* Now that whereby we are saved, that we are also no doubt justified by; which words are in this respect synonymous. Here the apostle clearly ascribes the *immediate* cause of justification to this inward work of regeneration, which is *Jesus Christ revealed in the soul*, as being that which formally states us in a capacity of being reconciled with God; the washing or regeneration being that inward power and virtue, whereby the soul is cleansed, and clothed with the righteousness of Christ, so as to be made fit to appear before God.

The immediate cause of justification is the inward work of regeneration.

Pr. III.

Thirdly, This doctrine is manifest from 2 *Cor.* xiii. 5. *Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your ownselves: know ye not your ownselves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?* First, It appears here how earnest the apostle was that they should know Christ *in them;* so that he presses this exhortation upon them, and inculcates it three times. Secondly, He makes the cause of reprobation, or not-justification, the want of Christ thus revealed and known in the soul: whereby it necessarily follows, by the rule of *contraries*, where the parity is alike, (as in this case it is evident,) that where Christ is inwardly known, there the persons subjected to him are approved and justified. For there can be nothing more plain than this, That if we must know Christ *in us*, except we be reprobates, or unjustified persons; if we know him *in us*, we are not reprobates, and consequently

The cause of reprobation is Christ not known by inward revelation.

justified ones. Like unto this is that other saying of the same apostle, Gal. iv. 19. *My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you;* and therefore the apostle terms this, *Christ within, the hope of glory*, Col. i. 27, 28. Now that which is the *hope of glory*, can be no other than that which we *immediately* and *most nearly* rely upon for our justification, and that whereby we are really and truly made just. And as we do not hereby deny, but the original and fundamental cause of our justification is the love of God manifested in the appearance of *Jesus Christ* in the flesh, who by his life, death, sufferings, and obedience, made a way for our reconciliation, and became a sacrifice for the remission of sins that are past, and purchased unto us this *seed* and *grace*, from which this birth arises, and in which Jesus Christ is inwardly received, formed, and brought forth in us, in his own pure and holy image of righteousness, by which our souls live unto God, and are clothed with him, and have put him on, even as the scripture speaks, *Eph.* iv. 23, 24. *Gal.* iii. 27. we stand justified and saved in and by him, and by his Spirit and grace, *Rom.* iii. 24. 1 *Cor.* vi. 11. *Tit.* iii. 7. So again, *reciprocally*, we are hereby made partakers of the fulness of his *merits*, and his cleansing *blood* is near, to wash away every sin and infirmity, and to heal all our backslidings, as often as we turn towards him by unfeigned repentance, and become renewed by his Spirit. Those then that find him thus raised, and ruling in them, have a true ground of hope to believe that they are justified by his blood. But let not any deceive themselves, so as to foster themselves in a vain hope and confidence, that by the death and sufferings of Christ they are justified, so long as *sin lies at their door*, Gen. iv. 7. iniquity prevails, and they remain yet unrenewed and unregenerate; lest it be said unto them, *I know you not.* Let that saying of Christ be remembered, *Not every*

Christ by his death and sufferings has opened a way for our reconciliation.

one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter, but he that doth the will of my father, Mat. vii. 21. To which let these excellent sayings of the beloved disciple be added; *Little children, let no man deceive you; he that doth righteousness is righteous, even as he is righteous. He that committeth sin is of the devil; because if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things*, 1 John iii. 7. & 20.

Many famous Protestants bear witness to this inward justification by Christ inwardly revealed and formed in man. As *M. Borhœus:* "In the "imputation, saith he, wherein Christ is ascribed "and imputed to believers for righteousness, the "merit of his blood, and the Holy Ghost given "unto us by virtue of his merits, are equally in-"cluded. And so it shall be confessed, *that Christ* "*is our righteousness*, as well from his merit, satis-"faction, and remission of sins obtained by him, "as from the gifts of the Spirit of righteousness. "And if we do this, we shall consider the whole "Christ proposed to us for our salvation, and not "any single part of him." The same man, p. 169. "*In our justification* then Christ is considered, who "breathes and lives in us, to wit, by his Spirit "put on by us; concerning which putting on the "apostle saith, *Ye have put on Christ*." And again, p. 171. "We endeavour to treat in justification, "not of part of Christ, but him wholly, in so far "as he is our righteousness every way." And a little after: "As then blessed *Paul*, in our justifi-"cation, when he saith, *Whom he justified, them he* "*glorified*, comprehends all things which pertain "to our being reconciled to God the Father, and "our renewing, which fits us for attaining unto "glory, such as faith, righteousness, Christ, and "the gift of righteousness exhibited by him, where-"by we are regenerated, to the fulfilling of the "justification which the law requires; so we also "will have all things comprehended in this cause,

Borhæus in Gen. p. 162.

The testimonies of famous Protestants of inward justification.

"which are contained in the recovery of righteous-
"ness and innocency." And p. 181. "The form,
"saith he, of our justification, is the divine right-
"eousness itself, by which we are formed just and
"good. This is *Jesus Christ*, who is esteemed our
"righteousness, partly from the forgiveness of sins,
"and partly from the renewing and the restoring
"of that integrity, which was lost by the fault of
"the first *Adam*: so that this new and heavenly
"*Adam* being put on by us, of which the apostle
"saith, *Ye have put on Christ*, ye have put him on,
"I say, as the form, so the righteousness, wisdom,
"and life of God." So also affirmeth *Claudius*
Inuncunan. *Alberius Inuncunanus*, see his *Orat. Apodict. Lau-*
Zuinglius. *saniæ Excus.* 1587. *Orat.* 2. p. 86, 87. *Zuinglius* also,
in his epistle to the princes of *Germany*, as cited by
Himelius, c. 7. p. 60. saith, "That the sanctification
"of the Spirit is true justification, which alone
Estius. "suffices to justify." *Estius* upon 1 *Cor.* vi. 11. saith,
"Lest Christian righteousness should be thought
"to consist in the *washing* alone, that is, in the re-
"mission of sins, he addeth the other degree or
"part, [but ye are *sanctified*,] that is, ye have attain-
"ed to purity, so that ye are now truly holy before
"God. Lastly, Expressing the sum of the benefit
"received in one word, which includes both the
"parts, But ye are *justified* (the apostle adds) in
"the name of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, that is, by his
"merits, and in the Spirit of our God, that is, the
"Holy Spirit proceeding from God, and commu-
R. Baxter. "nicated to us by Christ." And lastly, *Richard*
Baxter, a famous *English* preacher, in his book
called *Aphorisms of Justification*, p. 80. saith, "That
"some ignorant wretches gnash their teeth at this
"doctrine, as if it were flat *Popery*, not understand-
"ing the nature of the righteousness of the new
"covenant; which is all out of Christ in ourselves,
"though wrought by the power of the Spirit of
"Christ in us."

§. IX. The *third* thing proposed to be considered is, concerning *the necessity of good works to justification.* I suppose there is enough said before to clear us from any imputation of being *Popish* in this matter. Pos. III.

But if it be queried, *Whether we have not said, or will not affirm, that a man is justified by works?* Object.

I answer; I hope none need, neither ought, to take offence, if in this matter we use the plain language of the holy scripture, which saith expressly in answer hereunto, *James* ii. 24. *Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.* I shall not offer to prove the truth of this saying, since what is said in this chapter by the apostle, is sufficient to convince any man that will read and believe it; I shall only from this derive this one argument. Answ. That works are necessary to justification.

If no man can be justified without faith, and no faith be living, nor yet available to justification without works, then works are necessary to *justification:* Arg.

But the first is true; therefore also the last.

For this truth is so apparent and evident in the scriptures, that for the proof of it we might transcribe most of the precepts of the gospel. I shall instance a few, which of themselves do so clearly assert the thing in question, that they need no commentary, nor farther demonstration. And then I shall answer the objections made against this, which indeed are the arguments used for the contrary opinion, Heb. xii. 14. *Without holiness no man shall see God.* Mat. vii. 21. *Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven.* John xiii. 7. *If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.* 1 Cor. vii. 19. *Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.* Rev. xxii. 14. *Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the* Not the sayers, but the doers, are blessed.

gates into the city: and many more that might be instanced. From all which I thus argue:

Arg. If those only can *enter into the kingdom that do the will of the Father;* if those be accounted only the *wise builders* and *happy* that do the sayings of Christ; if no observations avail, but only the *keeping of the commandments;* and if they be blessed that *do the commandments*, and thereby have right to the *tree of life*, and entrance through the gates into the city; then *works* are absolutely *necessary* to *salvation* and *justification:*

But the first is true; and *therefore* also the last.

The consequence of the *antecedent* is so clear and evident, that I think no man of sound reason will call for a proof of it.

Obj. 1. §. X. But they object, *That works are not necessary to justification:* First, because of that saying of *Christ*, Luke xvii. 10. *When ye shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say, We are uprofitable servants, &c.*

Unprofitable servants.

Answ. *Answer;* As to God we are indeed unprofitable, for he needeth nothing, neither can we add any thing unto him: but as to ourselves, we are *not* unprofitable; else it might be said, that it is not profitable for a man to keep *God's commandments;* which is most absurd, and would contradict Christ's doctrine throughout. Doth not Christ, *Mat.* v. through all those beatitudes, pronounce men blessed for their *purity*, for their *meekness*, for their *peaceableness*, &c.? And is not then that for which Christ pronounceth men blessed, profitable unto them? Moreover, *Mat.* xxv. 21, 23. Doth not Christ pronounce the men *good and faithful servants* that improved their *talents?* Was not their doing of that then profitable unto them? And ver. 30. it is said of him that hid his *talent*, and did not improve it, *Cast ye the unprofitable servant into utter darkness.* If then not improving of the *talent* made the man *unprofitable*, and he was therefore *cast into utter darkness*, it will

God needeth nothing.

Those that had improved their talents, were called good and faithful servants.

follow by the rule of *contraries*, so far at least, that the improving made the other profitable; seeing, if our adversaries will allow us to believe Christ's words, this is made a *reason*, and so at least a *cause instrumental* of their acceptance; *Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.*

Secondly, They object those sayings of the apostle, *where he excludes the deeds of the law from justification*; as first, *Rom.* iii. 20. *Because by the deeds of the law there shall be no flesh justified in his sight.* And verse 28. *Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.* Obj. 2.

Answ. We have shown already what place we give to *works*, even to the *best of works*, in *justification*; and how we ascribe its immediate and formal cause to the *worker* brought forth in us, but not to the *works*. But in answer to this objection, I say, there is a great difference betwixt the *works* of the *law*, and those of *grace*, or of the *gospel*. The first are excluded, the second not, but are necessary. The first are those which are performed in man's own will, and by his strength, in a conformity to the outward law and letter; and therefore are man's own imperfect works, or works of the law, which *makes nothing perfect*: and to this belong all the ceremonies, purifications, washings, and traditions of the *Jews*. The second are the works of the Spirit of grace in the heart, wrought in conformity to the inward and spiritual law; which works are not wrought in man's will, nor by his power and ability, but in and by the power and Spirit of Christ *in us*, and therefore are *pure* and *perfect* in their kind, (as shall hereafter be proved,) and may be called *Christ's works*, for that he is the immediate author and worker of them; such *works* we affirm absolutely *necessary to justification*, so that a man cannot be justified without them; and all *faith* Ans. 1.

The works of the gospel or grace distinguished from those of the law.

without them is dead and useless, as the apostle *James* saith. Now, that such a distinction is to be admitted, and that the *works* excluded by the apostle in the matter of justification are of the first kind, will appear, if we consider the occasion of the apostle's mentioning this, as well here, as throughout his epistle to the *Galatians*, where he speaks of this matter and to this purpose at large: which was this, That whereas many of the *Gentiles*, that were not of the race or seed of *Abraham*, as concerning the flesh, were come to be converted to the *Christian faith*, and to believe in him, some of those that were of the *Jewish proselytes*, thought to subject the faithful and believing *Gentiles* to the legal ceremonies and observations, as necessary to their justification: this gave the apostle *Paul* occasion at length, in his epistle to the *Romans*, *Galatians*, and elsewhere, to show the use and tendency of the law, and of its works, and to contra-distinguish them from the faith of Christ, and the righteousness thereof; showing how the former was ceased and become ineffectual, the other remaining, and yet necessary. And that the works excluded by the apostle are of this kind of works of the law, appears by the whole strain of his epistle to the *Galatians*, chap. i, ii, iii, and iv. For after, in chap. iv. he upbraideth them for their returning unto the observation of *days* and *times*, and that, in the beginning of chap. v. he showeth them their folly, and the evil consequence of adhering to the ceremonies of circumcision, then he adds, ver. 6. *For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth, but faith, which worketh by love;* and thus he concludes again, chap. vi. ver. 15. *For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.* From which places appeareth that distinction of works before-mentioned, whereof the one is excluded, the other necessary to justification. For the apostle showeth here, that

The occasion of the apostle's speaking of the works of the law, which are excluded.

circumcision (which word is often used to comprehend the whole ceremonies and legal performances of the *Jews*) is not necessary, nor doth avail. Here then are the *works* which are excluded, by which *no man is justified;* but *faith*, which *worketh by love*, but the *new creature*, this is that which *availeth*, which is *absolutely necessary:* for *faith*, that *worketh by love*, cannot be without *works;* for, as it is said in the same 5th chapter, ver. 22. *Love is a work of the Spirit;* also the *new creature*, if it avail and be necessary, cannot be without works; seeing it is natural for it to bring forth works of righteousness. Again, that the apostle no ways intends to exclude such good works appears, in that in the same epistle he exhorts the *Galatians* to them, and holds forth the usefulness and necessity of them, and that very plainly, chap. vi. ver. 7, 8, 9. *Be not deceived*, saith he, *God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap: for he that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption: but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting. And let us not be weary of well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not:* Doth it not hereby appear, how necessary the apostle would have the *Galatians* know that he esteemed good works to be? To wit, not the outward ceremonies and traditions of the law, but the fruits of the Spirit, mentioned a little before; by which Spirit he would have them to be led, and walk in those good works: as also, how much he ascribed to these good works, by which he affirms *life everlasting* is reaped. Now, that cannot be useless to man's justification, which capacitates him to reap so rich an harvest.

The usefulness and necessity of good works.

But lastly; For a full answer to this objection, and for the establishing of this doctrine of *good works*, I shall instance another saying of the same apostle *Paul*, which our adversaries also in the blindness of their minds make use of against us; to wit, Tit. iii. 5. *Not by works of righteousness which we*

Ans. 2.

Justified not by our legal performances, but the fruit of the Spirit.

have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost. It is generally granted by all, that [*saved*] is here all one as if it had been said [*justified.*] Now there are two kinds of *works* here mentioned: one by which we are not saved, that is, not justified; and another by which we are saved, or justified. The first, the works of righteousness which we have wrought, that is, which we in our first fallen nature, by our own strength, have wrought, our own *legal performances*, and therefore may truly and properly be called ours, whatever specious appearances they may have. And that it must needs and ought to be so understood, doth appear from the other part, *By the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost;* seeing *regeneration* is a work, comprehensive of many *good works*, even of all those which are called *the fruits of the Spirit.*

Object. Now in case it should be objected, *That these may also be called ours, because wrought in us, and also by us many times as instruments;*

Answ. I answer; It is far otherwise than the former: for in the first we are yet alive in our own natural state, unrenewed, working of ourselves, seeking to save ourselves, by imitating and endeavouring a conformity to the outward letter of the law; and so wrestling and striving in the *carnal mind*, that is enmity to God, and in the *cursed will* not yet subdued. But in this second we are *crucified with Christ*, we are become *dead with him*, have *partaken of the fellowship of his sufferings*, are made *conformable to his death;* and our first man, our *old man with all his deeds*, as well the openly wicked as the seemingly righteous, our legal endeavours and foolish wrestlings, are all buried and nailed to the *cross of Christ;* and so it is no more *we*, but *Christ alive in us*, the *worker in us.* So that though it be *we* in a sense, yet it is according to that of the apostle to the same *Galatians*, ch. ii. ver. 20. *I am crucified, yet*

Not we, but Christ in us is the worker of righteousness.

nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: not I, but the grace of Christ in me. These works are especially to be ascribed to the *Spirit of Christ*, and the *grace of God in us*, as being immediately thereby acted and led in them, and enabled to perform them. And this manner of speech is not strained, but familiar to the apostles, as appears, Gal. ii. 8. *For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me*, &c. Phil. ii. 13. *For it is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do*, &c. So that it appears by this place, that since the *washing of regeneration* is necessary to justification, and that *regeneration* comprehends *works*, *works* are necessary; and that these *works* of the law that are excluded, are different from those that are necessary and admitted.

§. XI. Thirdly, They object *that no works, yea, not the works of Christ in us, can have place in justification, because nothing that is impure can be useful in it; and all the works wrought in us are impure.* For this they allege that saying of the prophet *Isaiah*, lxiv. 6. *All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags;* adding this reason, *That seeing we are impure, so must our works be; which though good in themselves, yet as performed by us, they receive a tincture of impurity, even as clean water passing through an unclean pipe is defiled.* Obj. 3.

That no *impure works* are useful to justification is confessed; but that all the works wrought in the saints are such is denied. And for answer to this, the former distinction will serve. We confess, that the first sort of *works* above-mentioned are *impure;* but not the second: because the first are wrought in the unrenewed state, but not the other. And as for that of *Isaiah*, it must relate to the first kind; for though he saith, *All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags*, yet that will not comprehend the righteousness of Christ *in us*, but only that which we work *of* and *by* ourselves. For should we so con- Ans. 1. What sort of righteousness is as filthy rags.

clude, then it would follow, that we should throw away all *holiness* and *righteousness;* since that which is as *filthy rags*, and as a *menstruous garment*, ought to be thrown away; yea, it would follow, that all the fruits of the Spirit, mentioned *Gal.* iv. were as *filthy rags:* whereas on the contrary, some of the works of the saints are said to have a *sweet savour in the nostrils of the Lord;* are said to be an *ornament of great price in the sight of God;* are said to *prevail with him*, and to be *acceptable to him;* which *filthy rags* and a *menstruous garment* cannot be. Yea, many famous *Protestants* have acknowledged, that this place is not therefore so to be understood. *Calvin* upon this place saith, "That it is used to "be cited by some, that they may prove there is "so little merit in our works, that they are before "God filthy and defiled: but this seems to me to "be different from the prophet's mind," saith he, "seeing he speaks not here of all mankind." *Musculus* upon this place saith, "That it was usual for "this people to presume much of their legal right-"eousness, as if thereby they were made clean; "nevertheless they had no more cleanness than "the unclean garment of a man. Others expound "this place concerning all the righteousness of our "flesh; that opinion indeed is true; yet I think "that the prophet did rather accommodate these "sayings to the impurity of the people in *legal* "*terms*." The author (commonly supposed *Bertius*) speaking concerning the true sense of the 7th chapter of the epistle to the *Romans*, hath a digression touching this of *Isaiah*, saying; "This place "is commonly corrupted by a pernicious wresting; "for it is still alleged, as if the meaning thereof in-"ferred the most excellent works of the best Chris-"tians, &c." *James Coret*, a *French* minister in the church of *Basil*, in his *apology* concerning *justification* against *Alescales*, saith; "Nevertheless according to "the counsel of certain *good men*, I must admonish

Calvin and others, their sense concerning Isa. lxiv. 6. of our righteousness.

Musculus.

Bertius, Epistolæ præfixæ dissert. ann.

Ja. Coret Apol. Impress. Paris, ann. 1597. page 78.

"the reader, that it never came into our minds to "abuse that saying of *Isa.* lxiv. 6. against *good works*, "in which it is said, that *all our righteousnesses are as* "*filthy rags*, as if he would have that which is good "in our *good works*, and proceedeth from the *Holy* "*Spirit*, to be esteemed as a filthy and unclean thing."

§. XII. As to the other part, *That seeing the best of men are still impure and imperfect, therefore their* works *must be so;* it is to beg the question, and depends upon a proposition denied; and which is to be discussed at farther length in the next proposition. But though we should suppose a man not thoroughly perfect in all respects, yet will not that hinder, but good and perfect *works* in their kind may be brought forth in him by the Spirit of Christ: neither doth the example of *water* going through an unclean *pipe* hit the matter; because though water may be capable to be tinctured with uncleanness, yet the Spirit of God cannot, whom we assert to be the immediate author of those *works* that avail in *justification*: and therefore Jesus Christ's works in his children are *pure* and *perfect*, and he worketh in and through that *pure thing* of his own forming and creating in them. Moreover, if this did hold, according to our adversaries' supposition, *That no man ever was or can be perfect*, it would follow, that the very miracles and works of the apostles, which Christ wrought in them, and they wrought in and by the power, spirit, and grace of Christ, were also *impure* and *imperfect;* such as their converting of the nations to the *Christian faith;* their gathering of the *churches*, their writing of the *holy scriptures;* yea, and their offering up and sacrificing of their *lives* for the *testimony of Jesus.* What may our adversaries think of this argument, whereby it will follow, that the *holy scriptures*, whose perfection and excellency they seem so much to magnify, are proved to be *impure* and *imperfect*, because they came through *impure* and *imperfect vessels?* It ap-

Were the miracles and works of the apostles wrought by the power of Christ in them, impure and imperfect?

pears by the confessions of *Protestants*, that the *Fathers* did frequently attribute unto *works* of this kind that *instrumental work*, which we have spoken of in *justification*, albeit some ignorant persons cry out it is *Popery*, and also divers, and those famous *Protestants*, do of themselves confess it. *Amandus Polanus*, in his *Symphonia Catholica*, cap. 27. *de Remissione Peccatorum*, p. 651. places this *thesis* as the common opinion of *Protestants*, most agreeable to the doctrine of the *Fathers*: "We obtain the remission of sins by repentance, confession, prayers "and tears, proceeding from faith, but do not "*merit*, to speak properly; and therefore we obtain "remission of sins, not by the *merit* of our repentance and prayers, but by the mercy and "goodness of God." *Innocentius Gentiletus*, a lawyer of great fame among *Protestants*, in his *Examen* of the *Council* of *Trent*, p. 66, 67. of *justification*, having before spoken of *faith* and *works*, adds these words: "But seeing the one cannot be without the "other, we call them both conjunctly *instrumental* "*causes*." *Zanchius*, in his fifth book, *De Natura Dei*, saith; "We do not simply deny, that *good* "*works* are the cause of *salvation*, to wit, the instrumental, rather than the efficient cause, which "they call [*sine qua non.*"] And afterwards, "Good works are the instrumental cause of the "possession of *life eternal*: for by these, as by a "means and a lawful way, God leads unto the "possession of *life eternal*." *G. Amesius* saith, "That "our obedience, albeit it be not the principal and "meritorious cause of *life eternal*, is nevertheless "a cause in some respect, administering, helping, "and advancing towards the possession of the life." Also *Richard Baxter*, in his book above-cited, pag. 155. saith, "*That we are justified by* works in the "same kind of causality as by *faith*, to wit, as "being both causes *sine qua non*, or conditions of "the *new covenant* on our part requisite to justi-

A. Polan.

Our doctrine of justification and works is not Popery.

Gentiletus ex Impress. Gen. 1516.

Zanchius.

G. Ames. in Medulla S. Theologiæ, l. 2. c. 1. Thes. 30.

R. Baxter.

"fication." And p. 195. he saith, "It is needless "to teach any scholar, who hath read the writings "of *Papists*, how this doctrine differs from them."

But lastly, Because it is fit here to say something of the *merit* and *reward* of *works*, I shall add something in this place of our sense and belief concerning that matter. We are far from thinking or believing, that man merits any thing by his works from God, all being of *free grace;* and therefore do we, and always have denied that *Popish* notion of *meritum ex condigno*. Nevertheless we cannot deny, but that God, out of his infinite goodness wherewith he hath loved mankind, after he communicates to him his holy *Grace* and *Spirit*, doth, according to his own will, recompense and reward the *good works* of his children; and therefore this *merit* of *congruity* or *reward*, in so far as the scripture is plain and positive for it, we may not deny; neither wholly reject the work, in so far as the scripture makes use of it. For the same Greek ἀξιον, which signifies [*merit*] is also in those places where the *translators* express it *worth*, or *worthy*, as *Mat.* iii. 8. 1 *Thess.* ii. 12. 2 *Thess.* i. 5, 11. Concerning which *R. Baxter* saith, in the book above-cited, p. 8. "But in a larger sense, as promise is an obli-"gation, and the thing promised is said to be debt, "so the performers of the conditions are called "*worthy*, and that which they perform *merit;* "although properly all be of *grace*, and not of *debt*." Also those, who are called the *Fathers* of the *church*, frequently used this word of *merit*, whose sayings concerning this matter I think not needful to insert, because it is not doubted, but evident, that many *Protestants* are not averse from this *word*, in the sense that we use it. The apology for the *Augustan confession*, art. 20. hath these words; "We agree "that *works* are truly meritorious, not of remission "of sins, or justification; but they are meritorious "of other rewards corporal and spiritual, which

Of the merit and reward of works.

God rewards the good works of his children.

"are indeed as well in this life, as after this life." And further, "Seeing *works* are a certain fulfilling "of the law, they are rightly said to be meritorious; "it is rightly said that a reward is due to them."

Conference of Oldenburgh.

In the acts of the conference of *Oldenburgh*, the electoral divines, p. 110. & 265. say, "In this sense "our churches are also not averse from the word "[*merit*] used by the Fathers; neither therefore do "they defend the *Popish* doctrine of *merit*."

G. Vossius of the word merit.

G. Vossius, in his *theological thesis* concerning the merits of *good works*, saith; "We have not ad-"ventured to condemn the word [*merit*] wholly, "as being that which both many of the ancients "use, and also the reformed churches have used "in their confessions. Now that God judgeth and "accepteth men according to their *works*, is be-"yond doubt to those that seriously will read and "consider these scriptures," *Mat.* xvi. 27. *Rom.* ii. 6, 7, 10. 2 *Cor.* v. 10. *James* i. 25. *Heb.* x. 35. 1 *Pet.* i. 17. *Rev.* xxii. 12.

§. XIII. And to conclude this *proposition*, let none be so bold as to *mock God*, supposing themselves justified and accepted in the sight of God, by virtue of Christ's death and sufferings, while they remain unsanctified and unjustified in their own hearts, and polluted in their sins, lest their hope prove that of the *hypocrite*, which perisheth. Neither let any foolishly imagine, that they can by their own works, or by the performance of any ceremonies, or traditions, or by the giving of gold or money, or by afflicting their bodies in will-worship and voluntary humility, or foolishly striving to conform their way to the outward letter of the law, flatter themselves that they merit before God, or draw a debt upon him, or that any man or men have power to make such kind of things effectual to their justification, lest they be found *foolish boasters*, and *strangers* to *Christ* and his *righteousness* indeed. But blessed for ever are they, that having truly had a sense of their

Job. viii. 13.

The hope of the hypocrite shall perish, but grace is to the humble.

own unworthiness and sinfulness, and having seen all their own endeavours and performances fruitless and vain, and beheld their own emptiness, and the vanity of their vain hopes, faith and confidence, while they remained inwardly pricked, pursued, and condemned by *God's holy witness in their hearts;* and so having applied themselves thereto, and suffered his *grace* to work in them, are become *changed* and *renewed* in the spirit of their minds, passed from *death to life*, and know *Jesus* arisen in them, *working both the will and the deed;* and so having *put on the Lord Jesus Christ*, in effect are clothed with him, and partake of his righteousness and nature; such can draw near to the Lord with boldness, and know their acceptance *in* and *by* him; *in whom*, and in as many as are found in him, *the Father is well pleased.*

PROPOSITION VIII.

Concerning Perfection.

In whom this pure and holy *birth* is fully brought forth, the body of death and sin comes to be crucified aud removed, and their hearts united and subjected to the *truth;* so as not to obey any suggestions or temptations of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning and transgressing of the *law of God*, and in that respect *perfect:* yet doth this *perfection* still admit of a growth; and there remaineth always in some part a possibility of sinning, where the mind doth not most diligently and watchfully attend unto the Lord.

§. 1. Since we have placed *justification* in the revelation of *Jesus Christ* formed and brought forth in the heart, there working his works of righteousness, and bringing forth the fruits of the Spirit, the question is, How far he may prevail in us while we are in this life; or we over our souls' enemies, in and by his strength? Those that plead for *justi-*

fication wholly without them, merely by imputative righteousness, denying the necessity of being clothed with real and inward righteousness, do consequently affirm, "That it is impossible for a man, "even the best of men, to be free of sin in this life, "which, *they say*, no man ever was; but on the contrary, that none can, neither of himself, nor by any "grace received in this life (*O wicked saying against "the power of God's grace*,) keep the commandments of God perfectly; but that every man doth "break the commandments in thought, word, and "deed:" whence they also affirm, as was a little before observed, "That the very best actions of "the saints, their prayers, their worships, are impure and polluted." We on the contrary, though we freely acknowledge this of the natural fallen man, in his first state, whatever his profession or pretence may be, so long as he is unconverted and unregenerate, yet we do believe, that to those in whom Christ comes to be formed, and the new man brought forth, and born of the incorruptible seed, (as that birth, and man in union therewith, naturally doth the will of God,) it is possible so far to keep to it, as not to be found daily transgressors of the *law of God*. And for the more clear *stating of the controversy*, let it be considered:

These are the words of the Westminster larger catechism.

Whether it is possible to keep the commandments of God?

Part I.

Controversy stated.

I. Notional knowledge.

§. II. First, That we place not this possibility in man's own will and capacity, as he is a man, the son of fallen *Adam*, or as he is in his natural state, however wise or knowing, or however much endued with a notional and literal knowledge of Christ, thereby endeavouring a conformity to the letter of the law, as it is outward.

II. The new birth.

Secondly, That we attribute it wholly to man, as he is born again, renewed in his mind, raised by Christ, knowing Christ alive, reigning and ruling in him, and guiding and leading him by his Spirit, and revealing in him the law of the Spirit of life; which not only manifests and reproves sin, but also gives power to come out of it.

Thirdly, That by this we understand not such a *perfection* as may not daily admit of a growth, and consequently mean not as if we were to be as pure, holy, and perfect as God in his divine attributes of wisdom, knowledge, and purity; but only a *perfection* proportionable and answerable to man's measure, whereby we are kept from transgressing the *law of God*, and enabled to answer what he requires of us; even as he that improved his *two talents* so as to make *four* of them, perfected his work, and was so accepted of his Lord as to be called a *good and faithful servant*, nothing less than he that made his *five ten*. Even as a little gold is perfect gold in its kind, as well as a great mass, and a child hath a perfect body as well as a man, though it daily grow more and more. Thus *Christ* is said, *Luke* ii. 52. to have *increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man;* though before that time he had never *sinned*, and was no doubt *perfect*, in a true and proper sense.

III. Growth in perfection.

He that improved his two talents was nothing less acceptable than he with the five.

Fourthly, Though a man may witness this for a season, and therefore all ought to press after it; yet we do not affirm but those that have attained it in a measure may, by the wiles and temptations of the enemy, fall into iniquity, and lose it sometimes, if they be not watchful, and do not diligently attend to *that* of *God* in the heart. And we doubt not but many good and holy men, who have arrived to everlasting life, have had divers ebbings and flowings of this kind; for though every sin weakens a man in his spiritual condition, yet it doth not so as to destroy him altogether, or render him uncapable of rising again.

IV. Wiles of the enemy.

Every sin weakens a man in his spiritual condition, but doth not destroy him altogether.

Lastly, Though I affirm, that after a man hath arrived at such a state, in which he may be able not to sin, yet he may sin: nevertheless, I will not affirm that a state is not attainable in this life, in which to do *righteousness* may be so natural to the regenerate soul, that in the stability of that con-

V. Righteousness become natural.

dition he cannot sin. Others may speak more certainly of this state, if they have arrived at it. With respect to myself, I speak modestly, because I ingenuously confess that I have not yet attained it; but I cannot deny that there is such a state, as it seems to be so clearly asserted by the apostle, 1 *John* iii. 9. *He that is born of God sinneth not, neither can he, because the seed of God remaineth in him.*

Part II. Sect. 1. The *controversy* being thus stated, which will serve to obviate *objections*, I shall proceed, First, to show the absurdity of that doctrine that pleads for sin *for term of life*, even in the saints.

Sect. 2. Secondly, To prove this doctrine of *perfection* from many pregnant testimonies of the holy scripture.

Sect. 3. And, Lastly, To answer the arguments and objections of our opposers.

Sect. I. Proof I. The doctrine of pleading for sin for term of life absurd.

§. III. First then, This doctrine, *viz.* That the *saints nor can nor ever will be free of sinning in this life*, is inconsistent with the wisdom of God, and with his glorious power and majesty, *who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity;** who having purposed in himself to gather to him that should worship him, and be witnesses for him on earth, a *chosen people*, doth also no doubt sanctify and purify them. For God hath no delight in iniquity, but abhors transgression; and though he regard man in transgression so far as to pity him, and afford him means to come out of it; yet he loves him not, neither delights in him, as he is joined thereunto. Wherefore if man must be always joined to sin, then God would always be at a distance with him; as it is written, *Isa.* lix. 2. *Your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you;* whereas on the contrary, the *saints* are said to *partake*, even while here, *of the divine nature*, 1 Pet. i. 4. and to be *one spirit with the Lord*, 1 Cor. vi. 17. Now no unclean thing can be so. It is expressly written, That *there is no communion*

*Hab. i. 13.

between light and darkness, 2 Cor. vi. 14. But *God is light*, and *every sin is darkness* in a measure: What greater *stain* then can there be than this upon *God's wisdom*, as if he had been wanting to prepare a means whereby his children might perfectly serve and worship him, or had not provided a way whereby they might serve him in any thing, but that they must withal still serve the devil no less, yea, more than himself? For *he that sinneth is the servant of sin*, Rom. vi. 16. and every sin is an act of service and obedience to the devil. So then if the saints sin daily in *thought*, *word*, and *deed*, yea, if the very *service* they offer to God be sin, surely they serve the devil more than they do God: for besides that they give the devil many entire services, without mixture of the least grain to God, they give God not the least service in which the devil hath not a large share: and if their prayers and all their spiritual performances be sinful, the devil is as much served by them in these as God, and in most of them much more, since they confess that many of them are performed without the leadings and influence of God's Spirit. Now who would not account him a foolish master among men, who being able to do it, and also desirous it might be so, yet would not provide a way whereby his children and servants might serve him more entirely than his avowed enemy; or would not guard against their serving of him, but be so imprudent and unadvised in his contrivance, that whatever way his servants and children served him, they should no less, yea often much more, serve his enemy? What may we then think of that doctrine that would infer this folly upon the *Omnipotent* and *Only Wise God?*

Hath God's wisdom been wanting to prepare a means to serve and worship him perfectly?

§. IV. Secondly, *It is inconsistent with the justice of God.* For since he requires purity from his children, and commands them to abstain from every iniquity, so frequently and precisely as shall

Proof 2. Its inconsistency with the justice of God.

hereafter appear, and since his *wrath is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men*, it must needs follow, that he hath capacitated man to answer his will, or else that he requires more than he has given power to perform; which is to declare him openly *unjust*, and, with the slothful servant, to be an *hard master*. We have elsewhere spoken of the *injustice* these men ascribe to God, in making him to *damn the wicked, to whom* they allege *he never afforded any means of being good;* but this is yet an aggravation more irrational and inconsistent, to say, *that God will not afford to those, whom he hath chosen to be his own*, (whom they confess he loveth,) *the means to please him*. What can follow then from so strange a doctrine?

This *imperfection* in the saints either proceeds from God or from themselves: If it proceeds from them, it must be because they are short in improving or making use of the power given them, whereby they are capable to obey; and so it is a thing possible to them, as indeed it is by the help of that power: but this our adversaries deny: they are then not to be blamed for their imperfection and continuing in sin, since it is not possible for them to do otherwise. If it be not of themselves, it must be of God, who hath not seen meet to allow them grace in that degree to produce that effect: and what is this but to attribute to God the height of injustice, to make him require his children to forsake sin, and yet not to afford them sufficient means for so doing? Surely this makes God more unrighteous than wicked men, *who if* (as Christ saith) *their children require bread of them, will not give them a stone; or instead of a fish, a serpent.* But these men confess we ought to seek of God power to redeem us from sin, and yet believe they are never to receive such a power; such prayers then cannot be in faith, but are all vain. Is not this to make God as unjust to his

Who will give their children a stone instead of bread?

children as *Pharaoh* was to the *Israelites*, in requiring brick, and not giving them straw? But blessed be God, he deals not so with those that truly trust in him, and wait upon him, as these men vainly imagine; for such faithful ones find of a truth that *his grace is sufficient for them*, and know how by his power and spirit to overcome the evil one.

Pr. III. The great and principal end of Christ's coming and appearance was for the removing of sin, and to redeem us from all iniquity.

§. V. Thirdly, This evil doctrine is *highly injurious to Jesus Christ, and greatly derogates from the power and virtue of his sacrifice, and renders his coming and ministry*, as to the great end of it, *ineffectual*. For Christ, as for other ends, so principally he appeared for the removing of sin, for the gathering a righteous generation, that might serve the Lord in purity of mind, and walk before him in fear, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and that evangelical perfection which the law could not do. Hence he is said, *Tit.* ii. 14. *to have given himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.* This is certainly spoken of the saints while upon earth; but, contrary thereunto, these men affirm, that *we are never redeemed from all iniquity*, and so make Christ's giving of himself for us void and ineffectual, and give the apostle *Paul* the lie plainly, by denying that *Christ purifieth to himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.* How are they *zealous of good works*, who are ever committing evil ones? How are they a *purified people*, that are still in impurity, as they are that daily sin, unless sin be accounted no impurity? Moreover it is said expressly, 1 *John* iii. 5, 8. That *for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil; and ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins.* But these men make this purpose of none effect; for they will not have the Son of God to *destroy the works of the devil in his children* in this world, neither will they at all

believe that he was manifest to take away our sins, seeing they plead a necessity of always living in them. And lest any should wrest this place of the apostle, as if it were spoken only of taking away the guilt of sin, as if it related not to this life, the apostle, as if of purpose to obviate such an objection, adds in the following verses, *Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not*, &c. I hope then they sin not daily in thought, word, and deed. *Let no man deceive you; he that doth righteousness, is righteous, even as he is righteous; he that committeth sin, is of the devil;* but he that sinneth daily in thought, word, and deed, committeth sin; how comes such an one then to be the child of God? And if Christ was manifest to take away sin, how strangely do they overturn the doctrine of Christ that deny that it is ever taken away here? And how injurious are they to the efficacy and power of Christ's appearance? Came not Christ to gather a people out of sin into righteousness; from the kingdom of Satan into the *kingdom of the dear Son of God?* And are not they that are thus gathered by him his servants, his children, his brethren, his friends? *who as he was, so are they to be in this world, holy, pure, and undefiled.* And doth not Christ still watch over them, stand by them, pray for them, and preserve them by his power and Spirit, walk in them, and dwell among them; even as the devil on the other hand doth among the reprobate ones? How comes it then that the servants of Christ are less his servants than the devil's are his? Or is Christ unwilling to have his servants thoroughly pure? Which were gross blasphemy to assert, contrary to many scriptures. Or is he not able by his power to preserve and enable his children to serve him? Which were no less blasphemous to affirm of him, concerning whom the scriptures declare, That he has *overcome sin, death, hell, and the grave, and triumphed over them openly, and that all*

The devil dwells among the reprobates.

power in heaven and earth is given to him. But certainly if the saints sin daily in thought, word, and deed, as these men assert, they serve the devil daily, and are subject to his power; and so he prevails more than Christ doth, and holds the servants of Christ in bondage, whether Christ will or not. But how greatly then doth it contradict the end of Christ's coming? as it is expressed by the apostle, *Eph.* v. 25, 26, 27. *Even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word: that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle,* or any such thing, *but that it should be holy, and without blemish.* Now if Christ hath really thus answered the thing he came for, then the members of this church are not always sinning in thought, word, and deed, or there is no difference betwixt being sanctified and unsanctified, clean and unclean, holy and unholy, being daily blemished with sin, and being without blemish.

§. VI. Fourthly, This doctrine renders *the work of the ministry, the preaching of the word, the writing of the scripture, and the prayers of holy men, altogether useless and ineffectual.* As to the first, *Eph.* iv. 11. *Pastors* and *teachers* are said to be *given for the perfection of the saints, &c. until we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the son of God, unto a perfect man, unto a measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.* Now if there be a necessity of sinning daily, and in all things, then there can be no perfection; for such as do so cannot be esteemed perfect. And if for effectuating this perfection in the saints the ministry be appointed and disposed of God, do not such as deny the possibility hereof render the ministry useless, and of no profit? Seeing there can be no other true use assigned, but to lead people out of sin into righteousness. If so be these ministers assure us that

Pr. IV.

Pastors, teachers, and scriptures are given for perfecting of the saints.

we need never expect to be delivered from it, do not they render their own work needless? What needs preaching against sin, for the reproving of which all preaching is, if it can never be forsaken? Our adversaries are exalters of the scriptures in words, much crying up their usefulness and perfection: now the apostle tells us, 2 *Tim.* iii. 17. That the *scriptures are for making the man of God perfect;* and if this be denied to be attainable in this life, then the scriptures are of no profit; for in the other life we shall not have use for them. It renders the prayers of the saints altogether useless, seeing themselves do confess they ought to pray daily *that God would deliver them from evil, and free them from sin, by the help of his Spirit and grace, while in this world.* But though we might suppose this absurdity to follow, *that their prayers are without faith,* yet were not that so much, if it did not infer the like upon the holy apostles, who prayed earnestly for this end, and therefore no doubt believed it attainable, *Col.* iv. 12. *Labouring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect, &c.* 1. Thess. iii. 13. and v. 23. &c.

Pr. V. Darkness and light, sin and righteousness, inconsistent together.

§. VII. But Fifthly, This doctrine is *contrary to common reason and sense.* For the two opposite *principles,* whereof the one rules in the children of *darkness,* the other in the children of *light,* are *sin* and *righteousness;* and as they are respectively leavened and actuated by them, so they are accounted either as reprobated or justified, seeing it is *abomination in the sight of God, either to justify the wicked or condemn the just.* Now to say that men cannot be so leavened by the one as to be delivered from the other, is in plain words to affirm, that *sin* and *righteousness* are consistent; and that a man may be truly termed *righteous,* though he be daily *sinning* in every thing he doth; and then what difference betwixt *good* and *evil?* Is not this to fall into that great abomination of putting *light* for

Prov. xvii. 15

darkness, and calling *good evil*, and *evil good?* Since they say *the very best actions of God's children are defiled and polluted, and that those that sin daily in thought, word, and deed, are good men and women, the saints and holy servants of the holy pure God.* Can there be any thing more repugnant than this to common reason? Since the *subject* is still denominated from that *accident* that doth most influence it; as a wall is called *white* when there is much *whiteness*, and *black* when there is much *blackness*, and such like; but when there is more unrighteousness in a man than righteousness, that man ought rather to be denominated unrighteous than righteous. Then surely if every man sin daily in thought, word, and deed, and that in his sins there is no righteousness at all, and that all his righteous actions are polluted and mixed with sin, then there is in every man more unrighteousness than righteousness; and so no man ought to be called *righteous*, no man can be said to be *sanctified* or *washed. Where are then the children of God? Where are the purified ones? Where are they who were sometimes unholy, but now holy: that sometimes were darkness, but now are light in the Lord?* There can none such be found then at this rate, except that unrighteousness be esteemed so: and is not this to fall into that abomination above mentioned of *justifying the ungodly?* This certainly lands in that horrid blasphemy of the *Ranters*, that affirm *there is no difference betwixt good and evil, and that all is one in the sight of God.* I could show many more gross absurdities, evil consequences, and manifest contradictions implied in this *sinful doctrine;* but this may suffice at present, by which also in a good measure the proof of the truth we affirm is advanced. Yet nevertheless, for the further evidencing of it, I shall proceed to the second thing proposed by me, to wit, to prove this from several testimonies of the holy scriptures.

If all daily sin, where is the righteous man then spoken of in scripture?

The blasphemy of the Ranters or libertines.

Sect. II. §. VIII. And First, I prove it from the peremp-
Proof 1. tory positive command of *Christ* and his *apostles*, seeing this is a maxim engraven in every man's heart naturally, *that no man is bound to do that which is impossible:* since then *Christ* and his *apostles* have commanded us to keep all the *commandments*, and to be perfect in this respect, it is possible for us so to do. Now that this is thus commanded without any commentary or consequence, is evidently apparent from these plain testimonies, *Mat.* v. 48. and vii. 21. *John* xiii. 17. 1 *Cor.* vii. 19. 2 *Cor.* xiii. 11. 1 *John* ii. 3, 4, 5, 6. and iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. These scriptures intimate a positive command for it; they declare the absolute necessity of it; and therefore, as if they had purposely been written to answer the objections of our *opposers*, they show the folly of those that will esteem themselves *children* or *friends* of *God*, while they do otherwise.

Be ye perfect, &c. Keep my commandments.

Proof 2. Secondly, It is possible, because we receive the gospel and law thereof for that effect; and it is expressly promised to us, as we are under grace, as appears by these scriptures, *Rom.* iv. 14. *Sin shall not have dominion over you; for ye are not under the law, but under grace:* and *Rom.* viii. 3. *For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son, &c. that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, &c.* For if this were not a condition both requisite, necessary, and attainable under the gospel, there were no difference betwixt the *bringing in of a better hope*, and the *law which made nothing perfect;* neither betwixt those which are under the gospel, or who under the *law* enjoyed and walked in the life of the *gospel*, and mere *legalists*. Whereas the apostle, throughout the whole *sixth* to the *Romans*, argues not only the *possibility*, but the *necessity* of being free from sin, from their being under the *gospel*, and under *grace*, and not under the *law;* and therefore states him-

The possibility of it.

The difference of the law and gospel.

self and those to whom he wrote in that condition in these *verses*, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. and therefore in the 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18 *verses* he argues both the possibility and necessity of this *freedom from sin* almost in the same manner we did a little before; and in the 22d he declares them in measure to have attained this condition in these words, *But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.* And as this perfection or freedom from sin is attained and made possible where the gospel and inward law of the Spirit is received and known, so the ignorance hereof has been and is an occasion of opposing this truth. For man not minding the *light* or *law within his heart*, which not only discovers sin but leads out of it, and so being a stranger to the new life and birth that is born of God, which naturally does his will, and cannot of its own nature transgress the commandments of God, doth, I say, in his natural state look at the commandments as they are without him in the letter; and finding himself reproved and convicted, is by the letter killed, but not made alive. So man, finding himself wounded, and not applying himself inwardly to that which can heal, labours in his own will after a conformity to the law as it is without him, which he can never obtain, but finds the more he wrestles, the more he falleth short. So this is the *Jew* still in effect, with his carnal commandment, with the *law* without, in the *first covenant state*, which *makes not the comers thereunto perfect, as pertaining to the conscience*, Heb. ix. 9. though they may have here a notion of *Christianity*, and an external faith in *Christ*. This hath made them strain and wrest the scriptures for an *imputative righteousness* wholly without them, to cover their impurities; and this hath made them imagine an acceptance with God possible, though they sup-

Perfection and freedom from sin attained and made possible by the gospel.

The letter kills, and maketh not alive.

pose it impossible ever to obey Christ's commands. But alas! O deceived souls! that will not avail in the day wherein *God will judge every man according to his work, whether good or bad.* It will not save thee to say, it was necessary for thee to sin daily in thought, word, and deed; for such as do so have certainly obeyed unrighteousness: and what is provided for such, but *tribulation and anguish, indignation and wrath*; even as *glory, honour, and peace, immortality and eternal life to such as have done good, and patiently continued in well doing.* So then, if thou desirest to know this perfection and freedom from sin possible for thee, turn thy mind to the *light and spiritual law of Christ in the heart*, and suffer the reproofs thereof; bear the judgment and indignation of God upon the unrighteous part in thee as therein is revealed, which Christ hath made tolerable for thee, and so suffer *judgment in thee* to be *brought forth into victory*, and thus come to partake of the *fellowship* of *Christ's sufferings*, and be made *conformable unto his death*, that thou mayest feel thyself *crucified with him to the* world *by the power of his cross in thee;* so that that life that sometimes was alive in thee to this world, and the love and lusts thereof, may die, and a new life be raised, by which thou mayest live henceforward to God, and not to or for thyself; and with the apostle thou mayest say, *Gal.* ii. 20. *It is no more I, but Christ alive in me;* and then thou wilt be a *Christian indeed*, and not in *name* only, as too many are; then thou wilt know what it is to have *put off the old man with his deeds*, who indeed sins daily in thought, word, and deed; and to have *put on the new man, that is renewed in holiness, after the image of him that hath created him*, Eph. iv. 24. and thou wilt witness thyself to be *God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works*, and so not to sin always. And to this new man *Christ's yoke is easy, and his burden is light;* though

How we partake of Christ's sufferings, and are made conformable unto his death.

Mat. xi. 30. 1 John v. 3.

it be heavy to the *old Adam;* yea, the *commandments of God* are not unto this man *grievous;* for it is his *meat and drink* to be found *fulfilling the will of God.*

Lastly, This perfection or freedom from sin is possible, because many have attained it, according to the express testimony of the scripture; some before the law, and some under the law, through witnessing and partaking of the benefit and effect of the gospel, and much more many under the gospel. As first, It is written of *Enoch, Gen.* v. 22, 24. that he *walked with God,* which no man while sinning can; nor doth the scripture record any failing of his. It is said of *Noah, Gen.* vi. 9. and of *Job* i. 8. and of *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth, Luke* i. 6. that *they were perfect;* but under the gospel, besides that of the *Romans* above mentioned, see what the apostle saith of many saints in general, *Eph.* ii. 4, 5, 6. *But God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he hath loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; by grace ye are saved; and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, &c.* I judge while they were sitting in these *heavenly places,* they could not be daily sinning in thought, word, and deed; neither were all their works which they did there as *filthy rags,* or as a *menstruous garment.* See what is further said to the *Hebrews,* xii. 22, 23. *Spirits of just men made perfect.* And to conclude, let that of the *Revelations,* xiv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. be considered, where though their being *found without fault* be spoken in the present time, yet it is not without respect to their innocency while upon earth; and their being *redeemed from among men, and no guile found in their mouth,* is expressly mentioned in the time past. But I shall proceed now, in the *third place,* to answer the *objections,* which indeed are the arguments of our opposers.

Proof 3. Many have attained perfection.

Enoch walked with God, and was perfect.

Sec. III.

Obj. 1. §. IX. I shall begin with their chief and great argument, which is the words of the apostle, 1. John i. 8. *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.* This they think invincible.

Ans. 1. But is it not strange to see men so blinded with partiality? How many scriptures tenfold more plain do they reject, and yet stick so tenaciously to this, that can receive so many answers? As first, [*If we say we have no sin, &c.*] will not import the apostle himself to be included. Sometimes the scripture useth this manner of expression when the person speaking cannot be included; which manner of speech the *grammarians* call *metaschematismus.* Thus *James* iii. 9, 10. speaking of the *tongue*, saith, *Therewith bless we God, and therewith curse we men;* adding, *These things ought not so to be.* Who from this will conclude that the apostle was one of those cursers? But secondly, This objection hitteth not the matter; he saith not, *We sin daily in thought, word, and deed:* far less that the *very good works which God works in us by his Spirit are sin:* yea, the very next verse clearly shows, that upon *confession* and *repentance* we are not only *forgiven*, but also *cleansed; He is faithful to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* Here is both a forgiveness and removing of the guilt, and a cleansing or removing of the filth; for to make *forgiveness* and *cleansing* to belong both to the removing of the *guilt*, as there is no reason for it from the text, so it were a most violent forcing of the words, and would imply a needless tautology. The apostle having shown how that not the guilt only, but even the filth also of sin is removed, subsumes his words in the time past in the 10th verse, *If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar.* Thirdly, As *Augustine* well observed, in his exposition upon the epistle to the *Galatians*, *It is one thing not to sin, and another*

If we say we have no sin, &c. objected.

Ans. 2.

Ans. 3.

thing not to have sin. The apostle's words are not *if we say we sin not, or commit not sin daily*, but *if we say we have no sin:* and betwixt these two there is a manifest difference; for in respect all have *sinned*, as we freely acknowledge, all may be said in a sense to have *sin.* Again, *sin* may be taken for the *seed of sin*, which may be in those that are redeemed from *actual sinning;* but as to the temptations and provocations proceeding from it being resisted by the servants of God, and not yielded to, they are the devil's sin that tempteth, not the man's that is preserved. Fourthly, This being considered, as also how positive and plain once and again the same apostle is in that very epistle, as in divers places above cited, is it equal or rational to strain this one place, presently after so qualified and subsumed in the *time past*, to contradict not only other positive expressions of his, but the whole tendency of his epistle, and of the rest of the holy commands and precepts of the scripture?

It is one thing not to sin, and another thing not to have sin.

Ans. 4.

Secondly, Their second objection is from two places of scripture, much of one signification: the one is, 1 *Kings* viii. 46. *For there is no man that sinneth not.* The other is, *Eccles.* vii. 20. *For there is not a just man upon earth, that doth good, and sinneth not.*

Obj. 2.

I answer, First, These affirm nothing of a daily and continual *sinning*, so as never to be redeemed from it; but only that all have *sinned*, or that there is none that doth not *sin*, though not always, so as never to cease to *sin;* and in this lies the question. Yea, in that place of the *Kings* he speaks within two verses of the returning of such *with all their souls and hearts;* which implies a possibility of leaving off sin. Secondly, there is a respect to be had to the seasons and dispensations; for if it should be granted that in *Solomon's* time there was none that *sinned not*, it will not follow that there

Answ.

Diversity of seasons & dispensations respected.

are none such now, or that it is a thing not now attainable by the grace of God under the gospel: For *A non esse ad non posse non valet sequela.* And Lastly, This whole objection hangs upon a false interpretation; for the Hebrew word יחטא may be read in the *Potential Mood*, thus, *There is no man who may not sin*, as well as in the *Indicative:* so both the old Latin, *Junius* and *Tremellius*, and *Vatablus* have it; and the same word is so used, *Psalm* cxix. 11. *I have hid thy word in my heart,* למען לא אחטא לך: that is to say, *That I may not, sin against thee*, in the *Potential Mood*, and not in the *Indicative;* which being more answerable to the universal scope of the scriptures, the testimony of the truth, and the sense almost of all interpreters, doubtless ought to be so understood, and the other *interpretation* rejected as *spurious.*

Obj. 3. Thirdly, They object some expressions of the apostle *Paul*, Rom. vii. 19. *For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do.* And verse 24. *O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?*

Answ. I answer, This place infers nothing, unless it were apparent that the apostle here were speaking of his own condition, and not rather in the person of others, or what he himself had sometimes borne; which is frequent in scripture, as in the case of cursing, in *James* before mentioned. But there is nothing in the text that doth clearly signify the apostle to be speaking of himself, or of a condition he was then under, or was always to be under; yea, on the contrary, in the former chapter, as afore is at large shown, he declares, they were *dead to sin;* demanding *how such should yet live any longer therein?* Secondly, It appears that the apostle personated one not yet come to a spiritual condition, in that he saith, verse 14. *But I am carnal, sold under sin.* Now is it to be imag-

Paul personates the wretched man to show them the Redeemer.

ined that the apostle *Paul*, as to his own proper condition, when he wrote that *epistle*, was a *carnal man*, who in *chap.* i. testifies of himself, That he was *separated to be an apostle, capable to impart to the* Romans *spiritual gifts*; and chap. viii. ver. 2. That *the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus* had *made him free from the law of sin and death?* So then he was not *carnal*. And seeing there are spiritual men in this life, as our adversaries will not deny, and is intimated through the whole viiith chapter to the *Romans*, it will not be denied but the apostle was one of them: so then as his calling himself *carnal* in chap. vii. cannot be understood of his own proper state, neither can the rest of what he speaks there of that kind be so understood: yea after, verse 24. where he makes that exclamation, he adds in the next verse, *I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord;* signifying that by him he witnessed deliverance; and so goeth on, showing how he had obtained it in the next chapter, *viz.* viii. ver. 35. *Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?* And ver. 37. *But in all these things we are more than conquerors:* and in the last verse, *Nothing shall be able to separate us, &c.* But wherever there is a continuing in sin, there is a separation in some degree, seeing every *sin is contrary to God*, and ἀνομία, i. e. *a transgression of the law*, 1 John iii. 4. and whoever committeth the least sin, is overcome of it, and so in that respect is not a conqueror, but conquered. This condition then, which the apostle plainly testified he with some others had obtained, could not consist with continual remaining and abiding in sin.

Whom sin has conquered, he is no conqueror.

Fourthly, They object the *faults and sins of several eminent saints, as* Noah, David, *&c.* Obj. 4.

I answer, That doth not at all prove the case: for the question is not *whether good men may not fall into sin*, which is not denied; but *whether it be not possible for them not to sin?* It will not follow Answ.

Can they that sin be never freed from sin?

because these men *sinned*, that therefore they were never *free of sin*, but always *sinned:* for at this rate of arguing, it might be urged, according to this rule, (*Contrariorum par ratio*, i. e. *The reason of contraries is alike*,) that if, because a good man hath sinned once or twice, he can never be free from sin, but must always be daily and continually a sinner all his life long; then by the rule of *contraries*, if a wicked man have done good once or twice, he can never be free from righteousness, but must always be a righteous man all his lifetime: which as it is most absurd in itself, so it is contrary to the plain testimony of the scripture, *Ezek.* xxxiii. 12 to 18.

Object. Lastly, They object, *That if perfection or freedom from sin be attainable, this will render mortification of sin useless, and make the blood of Christ of no service to us, neither need we any more pray for forgiveness of sins.*

Answ. I answer, I had almost omitted this *objection*, because of the manifest absurdity of it: for can mortification of sin be useless, where the end of it is obtained? seeing there is no attaining of this perfection but by mortification. Doth the hope and belief of overcoming render the fight unnecessary? Let rational men judge which hath most sense in it, to say, as our adversaries do, *It is necessary that we fight and wrestle, but we must never think of overcoming, we must resolve still to be overcome;* or to say, *Let us fight, because we may overcome?* Whether do such as believe they may be cleansed by it, or those that believe they can never be cleansed by it, render the *blood of Christ* most effectual? If two men were both grievously diseased, and applied themselves to a physician for remedy, which of those do most commend the physician and his cure, he that believeth he may be cured by him, and as he feels himself cured, confesseth that he is so, and so can say this is a skilful

Who fights and not in hopes to overcome his foe?

physician, this is a good medicine, behold I am made whole by it, or he that never is cured, nor ever believes that he can so long as he lives? As for praying for *forgiveness*, we deny it not; for that *all have sinned*, and therefore all need to pray that their *sins past* may be blotted out, and that they may be daily preserved from sinning. And if hoping or believing to be made *free from sin*, hinders praying for *forgiveness of sin*, it would follow by the same inference that men ought not to forsake murder, adultery, or any of these gross evils, seeing the more men are sinful, the more plentiful occasion there would be of asking forgiveness of sin, and the more work for mortification. But the apostle had sufficiently refuted such sin-pleasing cavils in these words, *Rom.* vi. 1, 2. *Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid.*

Praying for forgiveness of sin.

But lastly, It may be easily answered, by a retortion to those that press this from the words of the Lord's prayer, *forgive us our debts*, that this militates no less against perfect justification than against perfect sanctification: for if all the saints, the least as well as the greatest, be perfectly justified in that very hour wherein they are converted, as our adversaries will have it, then they have remission of sins long before they die. May it not then be said to them, What need have ye to pray for remission of sin, who are already justified, whose sins are long ago forgiven, both past and to come?

§. X. But this may suffice: concerning this possibility *Jerom* speaks clearly enough, *lib.* 3. *adver. Pelagium*, "This we also say, that a man may not "sin, if he will, for a time and place, according to "his bodily weakness, so long as his mind is in-"tent, so long as the cords of the *Cithara* relax "not by any vice:" and again in the same book, "Which is that that I said, that it is put in our "power (to wit, being helped by the grace of

Testimonies of the fathers concerning perfection or freedom from sin.

Jerom.

"God) either to sin or not to sin." For this was the error of *Pelagius*, which we indeed reject and abhor, and which the *Fathers* deservedly withstood, "That man by his natural strength, without the "help of God's grace, could attain to that state so "as not to sin." And *Augustine* himself, a great opposer of the *Pelagian* heresy, did not deny this possibility as attainable by the help of God's grace, as in his book *de Spiritu & litera*, cap. 2. and his book *de Natura & Gratia* against *Pelagius*, cap. 42, 50, 60, and 63. *de Gestis Concilii Palæstini*, cap. 7, and 2, and *de Peccato Originali*, lib. 2. cap. 2. *Gelasius* also, in his disputation against *Pelagius*, saith, "But if any affirm that this may be given to "some saints in this life, not by the power of man's "strength, but by the grace of God, he doth well "to think so confidently, and hope it faithfully; "for by this gift of God all things are possible." That this was the common opinion of the *Fathers*, appears from the words of the *Aszansic Council*, canon the last, "We believe also this according "to the *Catholic faith*, that all who are baptized "through grace by baptism received, and Christ "helping them, and co-working, may and ought "to do whatsoever belongs to salvation, if they "will faithfully labour."

Augustine.

Gelasius.

That by the gift of God all things are possible.

Conclusion.

§. XI. Blessed then are they that believe in him, who is both able and willing to deliver as many as come to him through true repentance from all sin, and do not resolve, as these men do, to be the devil's servants all their life-time, but daily go on forsaking unrighteousness, and forgetting those things that are behind, *press forward toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus;* such shall not find their faith and confidence to be in vain, but in due time shall be made conquerors through him in whom they have believed; and so overcoming, *shall be established as pillars in the house of God, so as they shall go no more out*, Rev. iii. 12.

Phil. iii. 14. Press forward to the mark, for the prize and overcoming.

PROPOSITION IX.

Concerning Perseverance, and the Possibility of Falling from Grace.

Although this gift and inward grace of God be sufficient to work out salvation, yet in those in whom it is resisted, it both may and doth become their condemnation. Moreover, they in whose hearts it hath wrought in part to purify and sanctify them in order to their further perfection, may, by disobedience, fall from it, *turn it to wantonness*, Jude iv. *make shipwreck of faith*, 1 Tim. i. 19. *and after having tasted the heavenly gift, and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, again fall away*, Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6. yet such an increase and stability in the truth may in this life be attained, from which there can be no total apostacy.

§. I. The first sentence of this proposition hath already been treated of in the *fifth* and *sixth propositions*, where it hath been shown that that *light* which is given for *life* and *salvation* becomes the condemnation of those that refuse it, and therefore is already proved in those places, where I did demonstrate the possibility of man's resisting the grace and Spirit of God; and indeed it is so apparent in the scriptures, that it cannot be denied by such as will but seriously consider these testimonies, *Proverbs* i. 24, 25, 26. *John* iii. 18, 19. 2 *Thess.* ii. 11, 12. *Acts* vii. 51. & xiii. 46. *Rom.* i. 18. As for the other part of it, that *they in whom this grace may have wrought in a good measure in order to purify and sanctify them, tending to their further perfection, may afterwards, through disobedience, fall away, &c.* the testimonies of the scripture included in the proposition itself are sufficient to prove

it to men of unbiassed judgment; but because as to this part our cause is common with many other *Protestants*, I shall be the more brief in it: for it is not my design to do that which is done already, neither do I covet to appear *knowing* by writing much; but simply purpose to present to the world a faithful account of our principles, and briefly to let them understand what we have to say for ourselves.

I. A falling from grace by disobedience evinced.

§. II. From these scriptures then included in the proposition, not to mention many more which might be urged, I argue thus:

Arg. 1. *If men may turn the* grace of God *into wantonness, then they must once have had it:*

But the first is true, therefore also the second.

Arg. 2. *If men may make* shipwreck of faith, *they must once have had it; neither could they ever have had true* faith *without the grace of God:*

But the first is true, therefore also the last.

Arg. 3. *If men may have tasted of the* heavenly gift, *and been made partakers of the* Holy Spirit, *and afterwards* fall away, *they must needs have known in measure the operation of God's saving grace and Spirit, without which no man could taste the heavenly gift, nor yet partake of the Holy Spirit:*

But the first is true, therefore also the last.

II. The doctrine of election and reprobation is inconsistent with preaching and daily exhortation.

Secondly, Seeing the contrary doctrine is built upon this false hypothesis, That *grace is not given for salvation to any, but to a certain elect number, which cannot lose it, and that all the rest of mankind, by an* absolute decree, *are debarred from grace and salvation;* that being destroyed, this falls to the ground. Now as that doctrine of theirs is wholly inconsistent with the daily practice of those that preach it, in that they exhort people to believe and be saved, while in the mean time, if they belong to the decree of reprobation, it is simply impossible for them so to do; and if to the decree of election, it is needless, seeing it is as impossible to them to miss of

it, as hath been before demonstrated; so also in this matter of *perseverance*, their practice and principle are no less inconsistent and contradictory. For while they daily exhort people to be *faithful to the end*, showing them if they continue not they shall be *cut off*, and fall short of the *reward*, which is very true, but no less inconsistent with that doctrine that affirms *there is no hazard, because no possibility of departing from the least measure of true grace;* which if true, it is to no purpose to beseech them to *stand*, to whom God hath made it impossible to *fall*. I shall not longer insist upon the probation of this, seeing what is said may suffice to answer my design; and that the thing is also abundantly proved by many of the same judgment. That this was the doctrine of the *primitive Protestants* thence appears, that the *Augustine Confession* condemns it as an *error* of the *Anabaptists* to say, *That they who once are justified, cannot lose the Holy Spirit.* Many such like sayings are to be found in the common places of *Philip Melancthon*. *Vossius*, in his *Pelagian History*, lib. 6. testifies, *that this was the common opinion of the Fathers.* In the confirmation of the *twelfth thesis*, page 587. he hath these words: "That this which we have said was the "common sentiment of antiquity, those at present "can only deny, who otherways perhaps are men "not unlearned, but nevertheless in antiquity altogether strangers," &c. These things thus observed, I come to the *objections* of our opposers.

The opinion of the fathers concerning falling from grace.

§. III. First, They allege, *That those places mentioned of making* shipwreck of faith, *are only to be understood of seeming faith, and not of a real true faith.* Obj. 1.

This *objection* is very weak, and apparently contrary to the text, 1 *Tim.* i. 19. where the apostle addeth to *faith* a *good conscience*, by way of complaint; whereas if their *faith* had been only seeming and hypocritical, the men had been better without it than with it; neither had they been Answ.

A good & evil conscience.

worthy of blame for losing that which in itself was evil. But the apostle expressly adds [*and of a good conscience*,] which shows it was real; neither can it be supposed that men could truly attain a *good conscience* without the operation of *God's saving grace;* far less that a *good conscience* doth consist with a seeming false and hypocritical faith. Again, these places of the apostle being spoken by way of regret, clearly import that these attainments they had fallen from were good and real, not false and deceitful, else he would not have regretted their falling from them; and so he saith positively, *They tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, &c.* not that they seemed to be so, which showeth this *objection* is very frivolous.

Obj. 2. Secondly, They allege, *Phil.* i. 6. *Being confident of this very thing, that he which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ, &c.* and 1 *Pet.* i. 5. *Who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.*

Answ. These scriptures, as they do not affirm any thing positively contrary to us, so they cannot be understood otherwise than as the condition is performed upon our part, seeing *salvation* is no otherways proposed there but upon certain necessary conditions to be performed by us, as hath been above proved, and as our adversaries also acknowledge, as *Rom.* viii. 13. *For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.* And *Heb.* iii. 14. *We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end.* For if these places of the scripture upon which they build their objections were to be admitted without these conditions, it would manifestly overturn the whole tenor of their exhortations throughout all their writings. Some other *objections* there are of the same nature, which are solved by the same answers,

Salvation is proposed upon certain conditions by us to be performed.

which also, because largely treated of by others, I omit, to come to that testimony of the truth which is more especially ours in this matter, and is contained in the latter part of the proposition in these words: *Yet such an increase and stability in the truth may in this life be attained, from which there cannot be a total apostacy.*

§. IV. As in the explanation of the *fifth* and *sixth propositions* I observed, that some that had denied the errors of others concerning *reprobation*, and affirmed *the universality of Christ's death*, did notwithstanding fall short in sufficiently holding forth the truth, and so gave the contrary party occasion by their defects to be strengthened in their errors, so it may be said in this case. As upon the one hand they err who affirm *that the least degree of true and saving grace cannot be fallen from*, so do they err upon the other hand that deny any such *stability* to be attained *from which there cannot be a total and final apostacy.* And betwixt these two extremes lieth the truth apparent in the scriptures, which God hath revealed unto us by the testimony of his Spirit, and which also we are made sensible of by our own experience. And even as in the former controversy was observed, so also in this, the defence of truth will readily appear to such as seriously weigh the matter; for the arguments upon both hands, rightly applied, will as to this hold good; and the objections, which are strong as they are respectively urged against the two opposite *false opinions*, are here easily solved, by the establishing of this *truth.* For all the arguments which these allege that affirm *there can be no falling away*, may well be received upon the one part, as of those who have attained to this stability and establishment, and their objections solved by this confession; so upon the other hand, the arguments alleged from scripture testimonies by those that affirm *the possibility of falling away* may well be re-

The two extremes some run into by asserting a final falling or not falling from grace impossible.

ceived of such as are not come to this establishment, though having attained a measure of true grace. Thus then the contrary batterings of our adversaries, who miss the truth, do concur the more strongly to establish it, while they are destroying each other. But lest this may not seem to suffice to satisfy such as judge it *always possible for the best of men before they die to fall away*, I shall add, for the proof of it, some brief considerations from some few testimonies of the scripture.

I. Watchfulness and diligence is of indispensable necessity to all.

§. V. And first, I freely acknowledge that it is good for all to be humble, and in this respect not over confident, so as to lean to this, to foster themselves in iniquity, or to lie down in security, as if they had attained this condition, seeing *watchfulness* and *diligence* is of *indispensable necessity* to all mortal men, so long as they breathe in this world; for God will have this to be the constant practice of a *Christian*, that thereby he may be the more fit to serve him, and better armed against all the temptations of the enemy. For since *the wages of sin is death*, there is no man, while he sinneth, and is subject thereunto, but may lawfully suppose himself capable of perishing. Hence the apostle *Paul* himself saith, 1 *Cor.* ix. 27. *But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away.* Here the apostle supposes it possible for him to be *a cast-away*, and yet it may be judged he was far more advanced in the inward work of *regeneration* when he wrote that *epistle*, than many who now-a-days too presumptuously suppose they cannot *fall away*, because they feel themselves to have attained some small degree of true *grace*. But the apostle makes use of this supposition or possibility of his being a *cast-away*, as I before observed, as an inducement to them to be watchful; *I keep under my body, lest, &c.* Nevertheless the same apostle, at another time, in the sense and feeling of

God's holy power, and in the *dominion* thereof, finding himself a conqueror there-through over sin and his soul's enemies, maketh no difficulty to affirm, *Rom.* viii. 38. *For I am persuaded that neither death nor life, &c.* which clearly showeth that he had attained a condition from which he knew he could not *fall away*.

II. A condition attainable in this life, from which there is no falling away.

But secondly, It appears such a condition is attainable, because we are exhorted to it; and, as hath been proved before, the scripture never proposeth to us things impossible. Such an exhortation we have from the apostle, 2 *Pet.* i. 10. *Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure.* And though there be a condition here proposed, yet since we have already proved that it is possible to fulfil this condition, then also the promise annexed thereunto may be attained. And since, where assurance is wanting, there is still a place left for doubtings and despairs, if we should affirm it never attainable, then should there never be a place known by the saints in this world, wherein they might be free of doubting and despair; which as it is most absurd in itself, so it is contrary to the manifest experience of thousands.

III. A certain assurance and establishment given of God to many of his saints and children.

Thirdly, God hath given to many of his saints and children, and is ready to give unto *all*, a *full* and *certain assurance* that they are his, and that no power shall be able to pluck them out of his hand. But this assurance would be no assurance, if those who are so *assured* were not *established* and *confirmed* beyond all doubt and hesitation: if so, then surely there is no possibility for such to miss of that which God hath assured them of. And that there is such *assurance* attainable in this life, the scripture abundantly declareth, both in general and as to particular persons. As first, *Rev.* iii. 12. *Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out, &c.* which containeth a general promise unto all. Hence the

apostle speaks of some that are *sealed*, 2 Cor i. 22. *Who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts:* wherefore the *Spirit* so *sealing* is called the *earnest* or *pledge of our inheritance*, Eph. i 13. *In whom ye were sealed by the holy Spirit of promise.* And therefore the apostle *Paul*, not only in that of the *Romans* above noted, declareth himself to have attained that condition, but 2 *Tim.* iv. 7. he affirmeth in these words, *I have fought a good fight, &c.* which also many good men have and do witness. And therefore, as there can be nothing more evident than that which the *manifest experience* of this time showeth, and therein is found agreeable to the experience of former times, so we see there have been of *old* and of *late* that have *turned the grace of God into wantonness*, and have *fallen from their faith and integrity;* thence we may safely conclude such a *falling away possible.* We also see that some of *old* and of *late* have attained a certain assurance, some time before they departed, that they should *inherit eternal life*, and have accordingly died in that *good hope*, of and concerning whom the Spirit of God testifieth *that they are saved.* Wherefore we all see such a state is attainable in this life, from which there is not a *falling away:* for seeing the Spirit of God did so testify, it was not possible that they should perish, concerning whom *he who cannot lie* thus bare witness.

PROPOSITION X.

Concerning the Ministry.

As by the *light* or *gift* of God all true knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed, so by the same, as it is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, every true *minister* of the *gospel* is ordained, prepared, and supplied in the work of the *ministry;* and by the leading, moving, and drawing hereof ought every *evangelist* and *Christian pastor* to be led and ordered in his labour and work of the gospel, both as to the place *where*, as to the persons *to whom*, and as to the time *wherein* he is to *minister*. Moreover, they who have this authority may and ought to preach the *gospel*, though without *human commission* or *literature;* as on the other hand, they who want the authority of this *divine gift*, however learned, or authorized by the *commission* of *men* and *churches*, are to be esteemed but as *deceivers*, and not *true ministers* of the *gospel*. Also they who have received this holy and unspotted gift, *as they have freely received it, so are they freely to give it*, without hire or bargaining, far less to use it as a *Trade* to get money by: yet if God hath called any one from their employment or trades, by which they acquire their livelihood, it may be lawful for such, according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord, to receive such temporals (to wit, what may be needful for them for meat and clothing) as are given them freely and cordially by those to whom they have communicated spirituals.

The gospel to be preached freely. Mat. x. 8.

§. I. Hitherto I have treated of those things which relate to the *Christian faith* and *Christians*, as they stand each in his private and particular condition, and how and by what means every man

may be a *Christian* indeed, and so abide. Now I come in order to speak of those things that relate to *Christians*, as they are stated in a *joint fellowship* and *communion*, and come under a visible and outward *society*, which *society* is called the *church of God*, and in scripture compared to a *body*, and therefore named the *body of Christ*. As then in the natural body there be divers members, all concurring to the common end of preserving and confirming the whole body, so in this *spiritual* and *mystical body* there are also divers members, according to the different measures of *grace* and of the *Spirit* diversely administered unto *each member;* and from this *diversity* ariseth that distinction of persons in the *visible society* of *Christians*, as of *apostles*, *pastors*, *evangelists*, *ministers*, *&c.* That which in this proposition is proposed, is, *What makes or constitutes any a minister of the church, what his qualifications ought to be, and how he ought to behave himself?* But because it may seem somewhat preposterous to speak of the *distinct offices* of the *church*, until something be said of the *church* in general, though nothing positively be said of it in the proposition; yet, as here implied, I shall briefly premise something thereof, and then proceed to the particular members of it.

The church of God is the spiritual body of Christ.

§. II. It is not in the least my design to meddle with those tedious and many controversies, wherewith the *Papists* and *Protestants* do tear one another concerning this thing; but only according to the truth manifested to me, and revealed in me by the testimony of the Spirit, according to that proportion of wisdom given me, briefly to hold forth as a necessary introduction both to this matter of the *ministry* and of *worship*, which followeth those things which I, together with my *brethren*, do believe concerning the *church*.

I. The *Church* then, according to the grammatical signification of the word, as it is used in the holy scripture, signifies an *assembly* or *gathering*

of many into one place; for the substantive ἐκκλησία comes from the word ἐκκαλέω *I call out of*, and originally from καλέω *I call;* and indeed, as this is the grammatical sense of the word, so also it is the real and proper signification of the thing, the *church* being no other thing but the *society, gathering*, or *company of such as God hath called out of the world, and worldly spirit, to walk in his* LIGHT *and* LIFE. The *church* then so defined is to be considered, as it comprehends all that are thus *called* and *gathered* truly by God, both such as are yet in this inferior world, and such as having already laid down the earthly tabernacle, are passed into their heavenly mansions, which together do make up the one *catholic church*, concerning which there is so much controversy. Out of which *church* we freely acknowledge there can be no salvation; because under this *church* and its denomination are comprehended all, and as many, of whatsoever *nation, kindred, tongue*, or *people* they be, though outwardly strangers, and remote from those who profess *Christ* and *Christianity* in words, and have the benefit of the scriptures, as become obedient to the *holy light* and *testimony of God* in their hearts, so as to become sanctified by it, and cleansed from the evils of their ways. For this is the *universal* or *catholic spirit*, by which many are called from all the *four corners of the earth, and shall sit down with* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob: by this the *secret life and virtue* of Jesus is conveyed into many that are afar off, even as by the blood that runs into the veins and arteries of the natural body the life is conveyed from the head and heart unto the extreme parts. There may be members therefore of this *catholic church* both among *heathens, Turks, Jews*, and all the several sorts of *Christians*, men and women of integrity and simplicity of heart, who though blinded in some things in their understanding, and perhaps burdened with the

The etymology of the word ἐκκλησία the church, and signification of it.

No salvation without the church.

What the church is.

Turks and Jews may become members of this church.

superstitions and formality of the several sects in which they are engrossed, yet being upright in their hearts before the Lord, chiefly aiming and labouring to be delivered from iniquity, and loving to follow righteousness, are by the secret touches of this *holy light* in their souls enlivened and quickened, thereby secretly united to God, and therethrough become true members of this *catholic church*. Now the *church* in this respect hath been in being in all generations; for God never wanted some such witnesses for him, though many times slighted, and not much observed by this world; and therefore this *church*, though still in being, hath been oftentimes as it were invisible, in that it hath not come under the observations of the men of this world, being, as saith the scripture, *Jer.* iii. 14. *one of a city, and two of a family.* And yet though the *church* thus considered may be as it were hid from wicked men, as not then gathered into a *visible fellowship*, yea, and not observed even by some that are members of it, yet may there notwithstanding many belong to it, as when *Elias* complained he was *left alone*, 1 King. xix. 18. God answered unto him, *I have reserved to myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed their knees to the image of* Baal; whence the apostle argues, *Rom.* xi. the being of a *remnant* in his day.

II. The definition of the church of God, as gathered into a visible fellowship.

§. III. Secondly, The *church* is to be considered as it signifies a certain number of persons gathered by God's Spirit, and by the testimony of some of his servants raised up for that end, unto the belief of the true principles and doctrines of the Christian faith, who, through their hearts being united by the same love, and their understandings informed in the same truths, gather, meet, and assemble together to wait upon God, to worship him, and to bear a joint testimony for the *truth* against *error*, suffering for the same, and so becoming through this fellowship as one family

and household in certain respects, do each of them watch over, teach, instruct, and care for one another, according to their several measures and attainments: such were the *churches* of the primitive times gathered by the apostles; whereof we have divers mentioned in the holy scriptures. And as to the *visibility* of the *church* in this respect, there hath been a great interruption since the apostles' days, by reason of the *apostacy*, as will hereafter appear.

How to become a member of that church.

§. IV. To be a *member* then of the *Catholic church*, there is need of the *inward calling of God* by his *light in the heart*, and a being leavened into the nature and spirit of it, so as to forsake unrighteousness, and be turned to righteousness, and in the inwardness of the mind to be cut out of the *wild olive tree* of our own first fallen nature, and ingrafted into *Christ* by his *Word* and *Spirit in the heart*. And this may be done in those who are strangers to the history, (God not having pleased to make them partakers thereof,) as in the *fifth* and *sixth propositions* hath already been proved.

The outward profession of the members of the true church.

To be a *member* of a particular *church of Christ*, as this inward work is indispensably necessary, so is also the outward profession of, and belief in, Jesus Christ, and those holy truths delivered by his Spirit in the scriptures; seeing the testimony of the Spirit recorded in the scriptures, doth answer the testimony of the same Spirit in the heart, even as *face answereth face in a glass*. Hence it follows, that the inward work of holiness, and forsaking iniquity, is necessary in every respect to the being a member in the *church* of *Christ*; and that the outward profession is necessary to be a member of a particular gathered *church*, but not to the being a member of the *Catholic church*; yet it is absolutely necessary, where God affords the opportunity of knowing it: and the outward testi-

mony is to be believed, where it is presented and revealed; the sum whereof hath upon other occasions been already proved.

The members of the Antichristian church in the apostacy their empty profession.

§. V. But contrary hereunto, the devil, that worketh and hath wrought in the *mystery of iniquity*, hath taught his followers to affirm, *That no man, however holy, is a member of the church of Christ without the outward profession; and unless he be initiated thereinto by some outward ceremonies.* And again, *That men who have this outward profession, though inwardly unholy, may be members of the true church of Christ, yea, and ought to be so esteemed.* This is plainly to put *light* for *darkness*, and *darkness* for *light;* as if God had a greater regard to words than actions, and were more pleased with vain professions than with real holiness; but these things I have sufficiently refuted heretofore. Only from hence let it be observed, that upon this false and rotten foundation *Antichrist* hath built his *Babylonish structure*, and the *Antichristian church* in the *apostacy* hath hereby reared herself up to that height and grandeur she hath attained; so as to exalt herself above *all that is called God, and sit in the temple of God as God.*

The decay of the church.

For the particular *churches* of *Christ*, gathered in the apostles' days, soon after beginning to decay as to the *inward life*, came to be overgrown with several errors, and the hearts of the professors of *Christianity* to be leavened with the old spirit and conversation of the world. Yet it pleased God for some *centuries* to preserve that *life* in many, whom he emboldened with zeal to stand and suffer for his name through the *ten persecutions;* but these being over, the meekness, gentleness, love, long-suffering, goodness, and temperance of *Christianity* began to be lost. For after that the princes of the earth came to take upon them that profession, and that it ceased to be a reproach to be a *Christian*, but rather became a means to preferment;

When men became Christians by birth, and not by conversion, christianity came to be lost.

men became such by birth and education, and not by conversion and renovation of spirit: then there was none so vile, none so wicked, none so profane, who became not a member of the *church*. And the *teachers* and *pastors* thereof becoming the companions of princes, and so being enriched by their benevolence, and getting vast treasures and estates, became puffed up, and as it were drunken with the vain pomp and glory of this world: and so marshalled themselves in manifold orders and degrees; not without innumerable contests and altercations who should have the *precedency*.* So the virtue, life, substance, and kernel of *Christian religion* came to be lost, and nothing remained but a shadow and image; which dead image, or carcase of *Christianity* (to make it take the better with the superstitious multitude of *heathens* that were engrossed in it, not by any inward conversion of their hearts, or by becoming less wicked or superstitious, but by a little change in the object of their superstition) not having the inward ornament and life of the Spirit, became decked with many outward and visible orders, and beautified with the gold, silver, precious stones, and the other splendid ornaments of this perishing world: so that this was no more to be accounted the *Christian religion*, and *Christian church*, notwithstanding the outward profession, than the *dead body* of a man is to be accounted a *living man;* which, however cunningly embalmed, and adorned with ever so much gold or silver, or most precious stones, or sweet ointments, is but a dead body still, without sense, life, or motion. For that *apostate church* of *Rome* has introduced no fewer ceremonies and superstitions into the *Christian profession*, than were either among *Jews* or *heathens;* and that there is and hath been as much, yea, and more pride, covetousness, un-

In the church of Rome are no less superstitions and ceremonies introduced, than were either among Jews or heathens.

* As were betwixt the bishop of Rome, and the bishop of Constantinople.

cleanness, luxury, fornication, profaneness, and atheism among her teachers and chief bishops, than ever was among any sort of people, none need doubt, that have read their own authors, to wit, *Platina* and others.

Whether and what difference there is betwixt the Protestants and Papists in superstitions?

Now, though *Protestants* have reformed from her in some of the most gross points and absurd doctrines relating to the *church* and *ministry*, yet (which is to be regretted) they have only lopt the branches, but retain and plead earnestly for the same root, from which these abuses have sprung. So that even among them, though all that mass of superstition, ceremonies, and orders be not again established, yet the same pride, covetousness, and sensuality is found to have overspread and leavened their *churches* and *ministry*, and the life, power, and virtue of *true religion* is lost among them; and the very same death, barrenness, dryness, and emptiness, is found in their *ministry*. So that in effect they differ from *Papists* but in form and some ceremonies; being with them apostatized from the life and power the true *primitive church* and her *pastors* were in: so that of both it may be said truly (without breach of charity) that having only a *form of Godliness*, (and many of them not so much as that,) they are *deniers* of, yea, *enemies* to, the *power* of it. And this proceeds not simply from their not walking answerably to their own principles, and so degenerating that way, which also is true; but, which is worse, their laying down to themselves, and adhering to certain principles, which naturally, as a cursed root, bring forth these bitter fruits: these therefore shall afterwards be examined and refuted, as the contrary positions of truth in the proposition are explained and proved.

* i. e. national.

The Protestant church how they become members thereof.

For as to the nature and constitution of a *church*,* (abstract from their disputes concerning its constant visibility, infallibility, and the primacy of the *church* of *Rome*,) the *Protestants*, as in practice, so in principles, differ not from *Papists;* for they engross

within the compass of their *church* whole nations, making their infants members of it, by sprinkling a little water upon them; so that there is none so wicked or profane who is not a fellow-member; no evidence of holiness being required to constitute a member of the *church*. Nay, look through the *Protestant nations*, and there will no difference appear in the lives of the generality of the one, more than of the other; he, who *ruleth in the children of disobedience*, reigning in both: so that the *reformation*, through this defect, is only in holding some less gross errors in the notion, but not in having the heart reformed and renewed, in which mainly the *life* of *Christianity* consisteth.

Christianity chiefly consists in the renewing of the heart.

§. VI. But the *Popish errors* concerning the *ministry*, which they have retained, are most of all to be regretted, by which chiefly the life and power of *Christianity* is barred out among them, and they kept in death, barrenness, and dryness; there being nothing more hurtful than an error in this respect. For where a false and corrupt ministry entereth, all manner of other evils follow upon it, according to that scripture adage, *Like people, like priest:* for by their influence, instead of ministering life and righteousness, they minister death and iniquity. The whole *backslidings* of the *Jewish congregation* of old are hereto ascribed: *The leaders of my people have caused them to err.* The whole writings of the prophets are full of such complaints; and for this cause, under the *New Testament*, we are so often warned and guarded to *beware of false prophets, and false teachers, &c.* What may be thought then, where all, as to this, is out of order; where both the foundation, call, qualifications, maintenance, and whole discipline are different from and opposite to the *ministry* of the *primitive church:* yea, and necessarily tend to the shutting out of a *spiritual ministry*, and the bringing in and establishing of a *carnal?* This shall appear by parts.

A Popish corrupt ministry all evils follow.

Like people, like priest. Hos. iv. 9.

Ques. I. §. VII. That then which comes first to be questioned in this matter, is concerning the *call of a minister;* to wit, *What maketh, or how cometh a man to be a minister, pastor, or teacher, in the church of Christ.*

Answ. We *answer;* By the *inward power and virtue of the Spirit of God.* For, as saith our proposition, *Having received the true knowledge of things spiritual by the Spirit of God, without which they cannot be known, and being by the same in measure purified, and sanctified, he comes thereby to be called and moved to minister to others;* being able to speak, from a living experience, of what he himself is a witness; and therefore *knowing the terror of the Lord, he is fit to persuade men, &c.* 2 *Cor.* v. 11. and his words and ministry, proceeding from the inward power and virtue, reach to the heart of his hearers, and make them approve of him, and be subject unto him. Our adversaries are forced to confess, that this were indeed desirable and best; but this they will not have to be absolutely necessary. I shall first prove the necessity of it, and then show how much they err in that which they make more necessary than this divine and heavenly call.

The call of a minister, & wherein it consisteth.

Object.

Arg. 1. The necessity of an inward call to make a man a Christian.

First; That which is necessary to make a man a *Christian*, so as without it he cannot be truly one, must be much more necessary to make a man a *minister of Christianity;* seeing the one is a degree above the other, and has it included in it: nothing less than he that supposeth a *master*, supposeth him first to have attained the knowledge and capacity of a *scholar.* They that are not *Christians*, cannot be teachers and ministers among *Christians.*

But this inward call, power, and virtue of the Spirit of God, is necessary to make a man a *Christian;* as we have abundantly proved before in the second proposition, according to these scriptures, *He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his. As many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God:*

Therefore this call, moving and drawing of the Spirit, must be much more necessary to make a *minister*.

2. The ministry of the Spirit requires the operation and testimony of the Spirit.

Secondly; All *ministers* of the *New Testament* ought to be *ministers* of the *Spirit*, and not of the *letter*, according to that of 2 *Cor.* iii. 6. and as the old Latin hath it, *Not by the letter, but by the Spirit:* But how can a man be a minister of the Spirit, who is not inwardly called by it, and who looks not upon the operation and testimony of the Spirit as essential to his call? As he could not be a minister of the letter who had thence no ground for his call, yea, who was altogether a stranger to, and unacquainted with it, so neither can he be a minister of the Spirit who is a stranger to it, and unacquainted with the motions thereof, and knows it not to draw, act, and move him, and go before him in the work of the *ministry*. I would willingly know, how those that take upon them to be ministers (as they suppose) of the gospel, merely from an outward vocation, without so much as being any ways sensible of the work of the Spirit, or any inward call therefrom, can either satisfy themselves or others that they are *ministers of the Spirit*, or wherein they differ from the *ministers of the letter?* For,

3. Under the law the people needed not to doubt, who should be priests and ministers.

Thirdly; If this inward call, or testimony of the Spirit, were not essential and necessary to a *minister*, then the *ministry* of the *New Testament* would not only be no ways preferable to, but in divers respects far worse than that of the *law*. For under the *law* there was a certain tribe allotted for the *ministry*, and of that tribe certain families set apart for the *priesthood* and other offices, by the immediate command of God to *Moses;* so that the people needed not to be in any doubt who should be priests and ministers of the holy things: yea, and besides this, God called forth, by the immediate testimony of his Spirit, several at divers times to teach, instruct,

and reprove his people, as *Samuel*, *Nathan*, *Elias*, *Elisha*, *Jeremiah*, *Amos*, and many more of the prophets: but now under the *new covenant*, where the *ministry* ought to be more *spiritual*, the *way* more *certain*, and the *access* more *easy* unto the Lord, our adversaries, by denying the necessity of this inward and spiritual vocation, make it quite otherwise. For there being now no certain family or tribe to which the *ministry* is limited, we are left in uncertainty, to choose and have *pastors* at a venture, without any certain assent of the will of God; having neither an outward rule nor certainty in this affair to walk by: for that the scripture cannot give any certain rule in this matter, hath in the *third proposition* concerning it been already shown.

4. Christ the door.

John x. 1.

Fourthly; Christ proclaims them all *thieves and robbers, that enter not by him the door into the sheepfold, but climb up some other way; whom the sheep ought not to hear:* but such as come in without the call, movings, and leadings of the Spirit of Christ, wherewith he leads his children into *all truth*, come in certainly not by Christ, who is the *door*, but some other way, and therefore are not true shepherds.

Succession pleaded by the false church from Christ and his apostles.

§. VIII. To all this they object the *succession of the church;* alleging, *That since Christ gave a call to his apostles and disciples, they have conveyed that call to their successors, having power to ordain* pastors *and* teachers; *by which power the authority of ordaining and making* ministers *and* pastors *is successively conveyed to us; so that such, who are ordained and called by the* pastors *of the* church, *are therefore true and lawful ministers; and others, who are not so called, are to be accounted but intruders.* Hereunto also some *Protestants* add a *necessity*, though they make it not a thing *essential; That besides this calling of the* church, *every one, being called, ought to have the inward call of the Spirit, inclining him so chosen to his*

work: but this they say is *subjective*, and not *objective;* of which before.

As to what is subjoined of the inward call of the Spirit, in that they make it not essential to a true call, but a supererogation as it were, it showeth how little they set by it: since those they admit to the ministry are not so much as questioned in their trials, whether they have this or not. Yet, in that it hath been often mentioned, especially by the *primitive Protestants* in their treatises on this subject, it showeth how much they were secretly convinced in their minds, that this inward call of the spirit was most excellent, and preferable to any other; and therefore in the most noble and heroic *acts* of the *reformation*, they laid claim unto it; so that many of the *primitive Protestants* did not scruple both to despise and disown this *outward* call*, when urged by the *Papists* against them. But now *Protestants*, having gone from the testimony of the Spirit, plead for the same *succession;* and being pressed (by those whom God now raiseth up by his spirit to reform those abuses that are among them) with the example of their forefathers' practice against *Rome*, they are not at all ashamed utterly to deny that their fathers were called to their work by the inward and immediate vocation of the Spirit; clothing themselves with that call, which they say their forefathers had, as pastors of the *Roman church.* For thus (not to go further) affirmeth *Nicolaus Arnoldus*,† in a pamphlet written against the same propositions, called, *A Theologick Exercitation*, Sect. 40. averring, *That they pretended not to an immediate act of the Holy Spirit; but reformed by the virtue of the ordinary vocation which they had in the church, as it then was*, to wit, *that of* Rome, &c.

Ans.

The call of the Spirit preferred to any other by primitive Protestants.

*Succession. Modern Protestants denying the call of the Spirit.

§. IX. Many absurdities do *Protestants* fall into, by deriving their ministry thus through the *church*

† Who gives himself out Doctor and Professor of Sacred Theology at Franequer.

Absurdities Protestants fall into, by deriving their ministry through the church of Rome.

of *Rome*. As, first, They must acknowledge her to be a true *church* of *Christ*, though only erroneous in some things; which contradicts their *forefathers* so frequently, and yet truly, calling her *Antichrist*. Secondly, They must needs acknowledge, that the *priests* and *bishops* of the *Romish church* are true *ministers* and *pastors* of the *church* of *Christ*, as to the essential part; else they could not be fit subjects for that power and authority to have resided in; neither could they have been vessels capable to receive that power, and again transmit it to their successors. Thirdly, It would follow from this, that the *priests* and *bishops* of the *Romish church* are yet really true *pastors* and *teachers:* for if *Protestant ministers* have no authority but what they received from them, and since the *church* of *Rome* is the same she was at that time of the reformation in doctrine and manners, and she has the same power now she had then, and if the power lie in the *succession*, then these *priests* of the *Romish church* now, which derive their ordination from those *bishops* that ordained the first *reformers*, have the same authority which the successors of the reformed have, and consequently are no less *ministers* of the *church* than they are. But how will this agree with that opinion which the *primitive Protestants* had of the *Romish priests* and *clergy*, to whom *Luther* did not only deny any power or authority, but contrary-wise affirmed, *That it was wickedly done of them, to assume to themselves only this authority to teach, and be* priests *and* ministers, *&c.* For he himself affirmed, *That every good Christian* (*not only men, but even women also*) *is a preacher.*

Luther affirmed, that a woman might be a preacher.

The pretended succession of Papists and Protestants explained.

§. X. But against this vain succession, as asserted either by the *Papists* or *Protestants* as a necessary thing to the call of a minister, I *answer;* That such as plead for it, as a sufficient or necessary thing to the call of a minister, do thereby suf-

ficiently declare their ignorance of the nature of *Christianity*, and how much they are strangers to the life and power of a *Christian ministry*, which is not entailed to succession, as an outward inheritance; and herein, as hath been often before observed, they not only make the *gospel* not better than the *law*, but even far short of it. For *Jesus Christ*, as he regardeth not any distinct particular family or nation in the gathering of his children; but only such as are joined to and leavened with his own *pure* and *righteous seed*, so neither regards he a bare outward succession, where his pure, immaculate, and righteous life is wanting; for that were all one. He took not the nations into the *new covenant*, that he might suffer them to fall into the old errors of the *Jews*, or to approve them in their errors, but that he might gather unto himself a pure people out of the earth. Now this was the great error of the *Jews*, to think they were the church and people of God, because they could derive their outward succession from *Abraham*, whereby they reckoned themselves the *children of God*, as being the offspring of *Abraham*, who was the *Father of the Faithful*. But how severely doth the scripture rebuke this vain and frivolous pretence? Telling them, *That God is able of the stones to raise children unto Abraham;* and that not the outward *seed*, but those that were found in the *faith* of *Abraham* are the true *children* of faithful *Abraham*. Far less then can this pretence hold among *Christians*, seeing Christ rejects all outward affinity of that kind: *These*, saith he, *are my mother, brethren and sisters, who do the will of my Father which is in heaven:* And again; *He looked round about him, and said, Who shall do the will of God, these*, saith he, *are my brethren*. So then, such as do not the commands of Christ, are not found clothed with his righteousness, are not his disciples; and that which a man hath not, he cannot give

The Jews' error of Abraham's outward succession.

Mat. xii. 48 &c. Mark iii. 33. &c.

to another: and it is clear, that no man nor church, though truly called of God, and as such having the authority of a church and minister, can any longer retain that authority, than they retain the power, life, and righteousness of *Christianity*; for the form is entailed to the power and substance, and not the substance to the form. So that when man ceaseth inwardly in his heart to be a *Christian* (where his Christianity must lie) by turning to Satan, and becoming a reprobate, he is no more a *Christian*, though he retain the name and form, than a dead man is a man, though he hath the image and representation of one, or than the picture or statue of a man is a man: and though a dead man may serve to a painter to retain some imperfect representation of the man that once was alive, and so one picture may serve to make another by, yet none of those can serve to make a true living man again, neither can they convey the life and spirit of the man; it must be God, that made the man at first, that alone can revive him. As death then makes such interruption of an outward natural succession, that no art nor outward form can uphold, and as a dead man, after he is dead, can have no issue, neither can dead images of men make living men: so that it is the living that are only capable to succeed one another; and such as die, so soon as they die cease to succeed, or to transmit succession. So it is in spiritual things; it is the life of Christianity, taking place in the heart, that makes a Christian; and so it is a number of such, being alive, joined together in the life of Christianity, that make a church of Christ; and it is all those that are thus alive and quickened, considered together, that make the Catholic church of Christ: therefore when this life ceaseth in one, then that one ceaseth to be a Christian; and all power, virtue, and authority, which he had as a Christian, ceaseth with it; so

The form of godliness is entailed to the power and substance, and not the substance to the form.

Succession interrupted.

The living members make the church: life lost, the church is ceased.

that if he hath been a minister or teacher, he ceaseth to be so any more: and though he retain the form, and hold to the authority in words, yet that signifies no more, nor is it of any more real virtue and authority, than the mere image of a dead man. And as this is most agreeable to reason, so it is to the scriptures' testimony; for it said of *Judas*, Acts i. 25. *That Judas fell from his ministry and apostleship by transgression;* so his transgression caused him to cease to be an apostle any more: whereas, had the apostleship been entailed to his person, so that transgression could not cause him to lose it, until he had been formally degraded by the *church*, (which *Judas* never was so long as he lived,) *Judas* had been as really an apostle, after he betrayed Christ, as before. And as it is of one, so of many, yea, of a whole church: for seeing nothing makes a man truly a Christian, but the life of Christianity inwardly ruling in his heart; so nothing makes a church, but the gathering of several true Christians into one body. Now where all these members lose this life, there the church ceaseth to be, though they still uphold the form, and retain the name: for when that which made them a church, and for which they were a church, ceaseth, then they cease also to be a church: and therefore the Spirit, speaking to the church of *Laodicea*, because of her *lukewarmness*, Rev. iii. 16. threateneth to *spew her out of his mouth.* Now suppose the church of *Laodicea* had continued in that *lukewarmness*, and had come under that condemnation and judgment, though she had retained the name and form of a church, and had had her pastors and ministers, as no doubt she had at that time, yet surely she had been no true church of Christ, nor had the authority of her pastors and teachers been to be regarded, because of an outward succession, though perhaps some of them had it immediately from the apostles. From all

Judas fell from his ministry by transgression.

The lukewarmness of the church of Laodicea.

which I infer, That since the authority of the Christian church and her pastors is always united, and never separated from the inward power, virtue, and righteous life of Christianity; where this ceaseth, that ceaseth also. But our adversaries acknowledge, *That many, if not most of those, by and through whom they derive this authority, were altogether destitute of this life and virtue of Christianity: therefore they could neither receive, have, nor transmit any Christian authority.*

Object. But if it be objected, *That though the generality of the bishops and priests of the church of* Rome, *during the apostacy, were such wicked men; yet* Protestants *affirm, and thou thyself seemest to acknowledge, that there were some good men among them, whom the Lord regarded, and who were true members of the* Catholic church *of* Christ; *might not they then have transmitted this authority?*

Answ. I answer; This saith nothing, in respect *Protestants* do not at all lay claim to their ministry as transmitted to them by a direct line of good men; which they can never show, nor yet pretend to: but generally place this succession as inherent in the whole pastors of the apostate church. Neither do they plead their call to be good and valid, because they can derive it through a line of good men, separate and observably distinguishable from the rest of the bishops and clergy of the *Romish church;* but they derive it as an authority residing in the whole: for they think it *heresy*, to judge that the quality or condition of the *administrator* doth any ways invalidate or prejudice his work.

The Protestants plead for a succession inherent.

This vain and pretended succession not only militates against, and fights with the very manifest purpose and intent of Christ in the gathering and calling of his church, but makes him (so to speak) more blind and less prudent than natural men are in conveying and establishing their outward inheritances. For where an estate is en-

tailed to a certain name and family, when that family weareth out, and there is no lawful successor found of it, that can make a just title appear, as being really of blood and affinity to the family; it is not lawful for any one of another race or blood, because he assumes the name or arms of that family, to possess the estate, and claim the superiorities and privileges of the family: but, by the law of nations the inheritance devolves into the prince, as being *Ultimus Hæres;* and so he giveth it again immediately to whom he sees meet, and makes them bear the names and arms of the family, who then are entitled to the privileges and revenues thereof. So in like manner, the true name and title of a *Christian*, by which he hath right to the *heavenly inheritance*, and is a member of *Jesus Christ*, is inward *righteousness* and *holiness*, and the mind redeemed from the *vanities*, *lusts*, and *iniquities* of this world; and a gathering or company, made up of such members, makes a church. Where this is lost, the title is lost; and so the true seed, to which the promise is, and to which the inheritance is due, becomes extinguished in them, and they become dead as to it: and so it retires, and devolves itself again into Christ, who is the righteous *heir of life;* and he gives the title and true right again immediately to whom it pleaseth him, even to as many as being turned to his *pure light* in their *consciences*, come again to walk in his *righteous* and *innocent life*, and so become true members of his *body*, which is the *church*. So the authority, power and heirship are not annexed to persons, as they bear the mere names, or retain a form, holding the bare shell or shadow of *Christianity;* but the promise is to *Christ*, and to the *seed*, in whom the authority is inherent, and in as many as are one with him, and united unto him by purity and holiness, and by the inward renovation and regeneration of their minds.

An estate void of heirship devolves to the prince, none claims it, but whom he sees meet to give it; so the heirship of life is enjoyed from Christ, the true heir.

Moreover, this pretended succession is contrary to scripture-definitions, and the nature of the church of Christ, and of the true members. For, first, *The church is the house of God, the pillar and ground of truth*, 1 Tim. iii. 15. But according to this doctrine, the *house of God* is a polluted nest of all sorts of wickedness and abominations, made up of the most ugly, defiled, and perverse stones that are in the earth; where the devil rules in all manner of unrighteousness. For so our adversaries confess, and history informs, the *church* of *Rome* to have been, as some of their *historians* acknowledge; and if that be truly the *house of God*, what may we call the *house of satan?* Or may we call it therefore the *house of God*, notwithstanding all this impiety, because they had a bare form, and that vitiated many ways also; and because they pretended to the name of *Christianity*, though they were *antichristian*, *devilish*, and *atheistical* in their whole practice and spirit, and also in many of their principles? Would not this infer yet a greater absurdity, as if they had been something to be accounted of, because of their hypocrisy and deceit, and false pretences? Whereas the scripture looks upon that as an aggravation of guilt, and calls it *blasphemy*, Rev. ii. 9. Of two wicked men, he is most to be abhorred, who covereth his wickedness with a vain pretence of God and righteousness: even so these *abominable beasts*, and *fearful monsters*, who looked upon themselves to be *bishops* in the *apostate church*, were never a whit the better, that they falsely pretended to be the successors of the holy apostles; unless to lie be commendable, and that hypocrisy be the way to heaven. Yea, were not this to fall into that evil condemned among the Jews, *Jer.* vii. 4. *Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these; thoroughly amend your ways, &c.* as if such outward names and things were the thing the Lord regarded,

I. The house of God is no polluted nest; no atheist nor pretender can rest there.

and not inward holiness? Or can that then be the pillar and ground of truth, which is the very sink and pit of wickedness, from which so much error, superstition, idolatry, and all abomination spring? Can there be any thing more contrary both to scripture and reason?

II. Christ is the head, his body undefiled.

Secondly, The church is defined *to be the kingdom of the dear Son of God, into which the saints are translated, being delivered from the power of darkness. It is called the* body of Christ, *which, from him by joints and bands having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God*, Col. ii. 19. But can such members, such a gathering as we have demonstrated that church and members to be, among whom they allege their pretended authority to have been preserved, and through which they derive their call; can such, I say, be the body of Christ, or members thereof? Or is Christ the head of such a corrupt, dead, dark, abominable, stinking carcase? If so, then might we not as well affirm against the apostle, 2 *Cor.* vi. 14. *That righteousness hath fellowship with unrighteousness, that light hath communion with darkness, that Christ hath concord with Belial, that a believer hath part with an infidel, and that the temple of God hath agreement with idols?* Moreover no man is called the *temple of God*, nor of the *Holy Ghost*, but as his vessel is purified, and so he fitted and prepared for God to dwell in; and many thus fitted by Christ become his body, in and among whom he dwells and walks, according as it is written, *I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.* It is therefore that we may become the *temple of Christ* and *people of God*, that the apostle in the following verse exhorts, saying out of the prophet, *Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you; and I will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters,*

What fellowship hath Christ with Belial?

2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.

saith the Lord Almighty. But to what purpose is all this exhortation? And why should we separate from the unclean, if a mere outward profession and name be enough to make the true church; and if the unclean and polluted were both the church and lawful successors of the apostles, inheriting their authority, and transmitting it to others? Yea, how can the church be the *kingdom of the Son of God*, as contra-distinguished from the *kingdom and power of darkness?* And what need, yea, what possibility, of being translated out of the one into the other, if those that make up the kingdom and power of darkness be real members of the true church of Christ, and not simply members only, but the very pastors and teachers of it? But how do they *increase in the increase of God, and receive spiritual nourishment from Christ the head*, that are enemies of him in their hearts by wicked works, and openly go into perdition? Verily as no metaphysical and nice distinctions, (as that though they were practically as to their own private states enemies to God and Christ, and so servants of Satan; yet they were, by virtue of their office, members and ministers of the church and so able to transmit the succession,) I say, as such invented and frivolous distinctions will not please the Lord God, neither will he be deluded by such, nor make up the glorious body of his church with such mere outside hypocritical shows, nor be beholden to such painted sepulchres to be members of his body, which is sound, pure, and undefiled, and therefore he needs not such false and corrupt members to make up the defects of it; so neither will such distinctions satisfy truly tender and Christian consciences; especially considering the apostle is so far from desiring us to regard this, that we are expressly commanded to *turn away from such* as *have a form of godliness, but deny the power of it.*

Priests' frivolous distinction of enemies to God by practice, and members of his church by office.

For we may well object against these, as the poor man did against the proud prelate, that went about to cover his vain and unchristian-like sumptuousness, by distinguishing that it *was not as bishop but as prince he had all that splendour;* to which the poor rustic wisely is said to have answered, *When the prince goeth to hell, what shall become of the prelate?* And indeed this were to suppose the body of Christ to be defective, and that to fill up these defective places, he puts counterfeit and dead stuff instead of real living members; like such as lose their eyes, arms, or legs, who make counterfeit ones of wood or glass instead of them. But we cannot think so of Christ, neither can we believe for the reasons above adduced, that either we are to account, or that Christ doth account, any man or men a whit the more members of his body, because though they be really wicked, they hypocritically and deceitfully clothe themselves with his name, and pretend to it; for this is contrary to his own doctrine, where he saith expressly, *John* xv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, &c. That *he is the vine, and his disciples are the branches; that except they abide in him, they cannot bear fruit; and if they be unfruitful, they shall be cast forth as a branch, and wither.* Now I suppose these cut and withered branches are no more true branches nor members of the vine; they can no more draw sap nor nourishment from it, after that they are cut off, and so have no more virtue, sap, nor life: What have they then to boast or glory of any authority, seeing they want that life, virtue, and nourishment from which all authority comes? So such members of Christ as are become dead to him through unrighteousness, and so derive no more virtue nor life from him, are cut off by their sins, and wither, and have no longer any true or real authority, and their boasting of any is but an aggravation of their iniquity by hypocrisy and deceit. But further, would not this

The answer of a poor rustic to a proud prelate.

A withered branch can draw no nourishment, so hath no life nor virtue.

make Christ's body a mere shadow and phantasm? Yea, would it not make him the head of a lifeless, rotten, stinking carcase, having only some little outward false show, while inwardly full of rottenness and dirt? And what a monster would these men make of Christ's body, by assigning it a real, pure, living, quick head, full of virtue and life, and yet tied to such a dead lifeless body as we have already described these members to be, which they allege to have been the church of Christ? Again, the members of the *church* of *Christ* are specified by this definition, to wit, as being the *sanctified in Christ Jesus*, 1 Cor. i. 2. But this notion of *succession* supposeth not only some unsanctified members to be of the *church* of *Christ*, but even the whole to consist of unsanctified members; yea, that such as were professed *necromancers* and open servants of *Satan* were the true successors of the apostles, and in whom the apostolic authority resided, these being the vessels through whom this succession is transmitted; though many of them, as all *Protestants* and also some *Papists* confess, attained these offices in the (so called) *church* not only by such means as *Simon Magus* sought it, but by much worse, even by witchcraft, traditions, money, treachery, and murder, which *Platina* himself confesseth* of divers bishops of *Rome*.

A living head upon a lifeless body, what a monster would that be!

§. XI. But such as object not this succession of the church, which yet most *Protestants* begin now to do, distinguish in this matter, affirming, *that in a great apostacy, such as was that of the church of* Rome, *God may raise up some singularly by his Spirit, who from the testimony of the scriptures perceiving the errors into which such as bear the name of* Christians *are fallen, may instruct and teach them, and then become authorized by the people's joining with and accepting of their ministry only.* Most of them also will

* In the Life of *Benedict* 4. of *John* 16. of *Sylvester* 3. of *Boniface* 8. of *Steph.* 6. of *John* 8. Also *Onuphrius's* Annotations upon this *Papess* (or *Popess*) towards the end

affirm, *That the Spirit herein is subjective, and not objective.*

But they say, That *where a church is reformed* (such as they pretend the *Protestant* churches are) *there an ordinary orderly call is necessary; and that of the Spirit, as extraordinary, is not to be sought after:* alleging, that *Res aliter se habet in ecclesia constituenda, quam in ecclesia constituta;* that is, *There is a difference in the constituting of a church, and after it is constituted.* Object.

I answer, This *objection* as to us saith nothing, seeing we accuse, and are ready from the scriptures to prove the *Protestants* guilty of gross errors, and needing reformation, as well as they did and do the *Papists;* and therefore we may justly lay claim, if we would, to the same extraordinary call, having the same reason for it, and as good evidence to prove ours as they had for theirs. As for that maxim, viz. *That the case is different in constituting a church, and a church constituted,* I do not deny it; and therefore there may be a greater measure of power required to the one than to the other, and God in his wisdom distributes the same as he sees meet; but that the same immediate assistance of the Spirit is not necessary for ministers in a gathered church, as well as in gathering one, I see no solid reason alleged for it: for sure Christ's promise was *to be with his* Children *to the end of the world,* and they need him no less to preserve and guide his church and children than to gather and beget them. Nature taught the *Gentiles* this maxim, Answ.

A difference objected between constituting a church and one as constituted.

Non minor est virtus, quam quærere, parta tueri.

To defend what we attain, requires no less strength than what is necessary to acquire it.

For it is by this inward and immediate operation of the Spirit, which Christ hath promised *to lead his children* with *into all truth,* and to *teach them all*

things, that Christians are to be led in all steps, as well last as first, which relate to *God's glory* and their own salvation, as we have heretofore sufficiently proved, and therefore need not now repeat it. And truly this device of *Satan*, whereby he has got people to put the immediate guidings and leadings of God's Spirit as an extraordinary thing afar off, which their *forefathers* had, but which they now are neither to wait for nor expect, is a great cause of the growing *apostacy* upon the many gathered churches, and is one great reason why a dry, dead, barren, lifeless, spiritless ministry, which leavens the people into the same death, doth so much abound, and is so much overspreading even the *Protestant nations*, that their preaching and worships, as well as their whole conversation, is not to be discerned from *Popish* by any fresh living zeal, or lively power of the Spirit accompanying it, but merely by the difference of some notions and opinions.

It is a device of Satan for men to put the Spirit's leadings far off to former times.

Object. §. XII. Some unwise and unwary *Protestants* do sometimes object to us, *That if we have such an immediate call as we lay claim to, we ought to confirm it by miracles.*

Answ. But this being an objection once and again urged against the *primitive Protestants* by the *Papists*, we need but in short return the answer to it that they did to the *Papists*, to wit, That *we need not miracles, because we preach no new gospel, but that which is already confirmed by all the miracles of Christ and his apostles; and that we offer nothing but that which we are ready and able to confirm by the testimony of the scriptures, which both already acknowledge to be true:* and that *John* the *Baptist* and divers of the *prophets* did none that we hear of, and yet were both immediately and extraordinarily sent. This is the common *Protestant answer*, therefore may suffice in this place; though, if need were, I could say more to this purpose, but that I study brevity.

Whether miracles be now necessary to confirm the gospel?

John Baptist and divers prophets did none.

§. XIII. There is also another sort of *Protestants*, to wit, the *English Independents*, who, differing from the *Calvinistical Presbyterians*, and denying the necessity of this *succession*, or the authority of any *national church*, take another way; affirming, *That such as have the benefit of the scriptures, any company of people agreeing in the principles of truth as they find them there declared, may constitute among themselves a* church, *without the authority of any other, and may choose to themselves a* pastor, *who by the* church *thus constituted and consenting, is authorized*, requiring only the assistance and concurrence of the *pastors* of the neighbouring churches, if any such there be; not so much as absolutely necessary to authorize, as decent for order's sake. Also, they go so far as to affirm, *That in a* church *so constituted, any gifted brother*, as they call them, *if he find himself qualified thereto, may instruct, exhort, and preach in the* church; *though, as not having the* pastoral office, *he cannot administer those which they call their* sacraments.

The constitution of the independent church.

Gifted brethren.

To this I answer, That this was a good step out of the *Babylonish darkness*, and no doubt did proceed from a real discovery of the *truth*, and from the sense of a great abuse of the promiscuous *national gatherings*. Also this preaching of the *gifted brethren*, as they call them, did proceed at first from certain *lively touches* and *movings* of the Spirit of God upon many; but alas! because they went not forward, that is much decayed among them; and the *motions* of God's Spirit begin to be denied and rejected among them now, as much as by others.

Their loss and decay.

But as to their *pretended call from the scripture*, I answer, The scripture gives a mere declaration of true things, but no call to particular persons; so that though I believe the things there written to be true, and deny the errors which I find there testified against, yet as to those things which

The Scriptures give no call to persons individual.

may be my particular duty, I am still to seek; and therefore I can never be resolved in the scripture whether I (such a one by name) ought to be a minister? And for the resolving this doubt I must needs recur to the inward and immediate testimony of the Spirit, as in the proposition concerning the *Scriptures* is shown more at large.

§. XIV. From all this then we do firmly conclude, that not only in a general *apostacy* it is needful men be extraordinarily called, and raised up by the Spirit of God, but that even when several assemblies or churches are gathered by the power of God, not only into the belief of the principles of truth, so as to deny errors and heresies, but also into the life, spirit, and power of Christianity, so as to be the body and house of Christ indeed, and a fit spouse for him, that he who gathers them doth also, for the preserving them in a lively, fresh, and powerful condition, raise up and move among them, by the inward immediate operation of his own Spirit, *ministers* and *teachers*, to instruct and teach, and watch over them, who being thus called, are manifest in the hearts of their *brethren*, and their call is thus verified in them, who by the feeling of that life and power that passeth through them, being inwardly builded up by them daily in the *most holy faith*, become the seals of their *apostleship*. And this is answerable to another saying of the same apostle *Paul*, 2 Cor. xiii. 3. *Since ye seek a proof of Christ's speaking in me, which to you-wards is not weak, but is mighty in you.* So this is that which gives a *true substantial call* and *title* to a *minister*, whereby he is a real successor of the virtue, life, and power that was in the apostles, and not of the bare name: and to such ministers we think the outward ceremony of *ordination* or *laying on of hands* not necessary, neither can we see the use of it, seeing our adversaries who use it acknowledge that the virtue and

True ministers qualifications, call, & title.

Their laying on of hands a mock to God and man; a keeping the shadow, whilst the substance is wanting.

power of communicating the *Holy Ghost* by it is ceased among them. And is it not then foolish and ridiculous for them, by an *apish imitation*, to keep up the shadow, where the substance is wanting? And may not they by the same rule, where they see blind and lame men, in imitation of Christ and his apostles, bid them *see* and *walk?* Yea, is it not in them a mocking of God and men, to put on their hands, and bid men *receive the Holy Ghost*, while they believe the thing impossible, and confess that that *ceremony* hath no real effect? Having thus far spoken of the *call*, I shall proceed next to treat of the *qualifications* and *work* of a true minister.

Ques. 2. The qualification of a minister.

§. XV. As I have placed the true *call* of a *minister* in the *motion* of this *Holy Spirit*, so is the *power*, *life*, and *virtue* thereof, and the pure *grace of God* that comes therefrom, the *chief* and *most necessary qualification*, without which he can no ways perform his duty, neither acceptably to God nor beneficially to men. Our adversaries in this case affirm, that *three things* go to the making up of a minister, *viz.* 1. *Natural parts*, that he be not a fool. 2. *Acquired parts*, that he be learned in the languages, in philosophy, and school divinity. 3. *The grace of God.*

Philosophy and school divinity will never make a gospel minister.

The *two first* they reckon necessary to the being of a minister, so as a man cannot be one without them; the *third* they say goeth to the well-being of one, but not to the being; so that a man may truly be a lawful minister without it, and ought to be heard and received as such. But we, supposing a natural capacity, that one be not an ideot, judge the *grace of God* indispensably necessary to the very being of a minister, as that without which any can neither be a true, nor lawful, nor good minister. As for *letter-learning*, we judge it not so much necessary to the well-being of one, though accidentally sometimes in certain respects it may concur, but

A poor laic instructed the learned Taulerus.

more frequently it is hurtful than helpful, as appeared in the example of *Taulerus*, who being a learned man, and who could make an eloquent preaching, needed nevertheless to be instructed in the way of the Lord by a poor *laic*. I shall first speak of the *necessity of grace*, and then proceed to say something of that literature which they judge so needful.

Proof 1. First then, as we said in the *call*, so may we much more here, if the *grace of God* be a necessary *qualification* to make one a *true Christian*, it must be a *qualification* much more necessary to constitute a *true minister of Christianity*. That *grace* is necessary to make one a *true Christian* I think will not be questioned, since it is *by grace we are saved*, Eph. ii. 8. It is the *grace of God that teacheth us to deny ungodliness, and the lusts of this world, and to live godlily and righteously*, Tit. ii. 11. Yea, Christ saith expressly, *That without him we can do nothing*, John xv. 5. and the way whereby Christ helpeth, assisteth, and worketh with us is by his *grace:* hence he saith to *Paul*, *My grace is sufficient for thee.* A Christian without *grace* is indeed no Christian, but an hypocrite, and a false pretender. Then I say, *If grace be necessary to a private Christian, far more to a teacher among Christians, who must be as a father and instructer of others, seeing this dignity is bestowed upon such as have attained a greater measure than their brethren. Even* nature *itself may teach us that there is more required in a teacher than in those that are taught, and that the master must be above and before the scholar in that art or science which he teacheth others. Since then Christianity cannot be truly enjoyed, neither any man denominated a Christian without the true grace of God, therefore neither can any man be a true and lawful teacher of Christianity without it.*

God's grace alone doth constitute a true and lawful teacher.

Pr. II. Arg. Who first must be a member of the body, and then life is received, & virtue from the head.

Secondly. No man can be a *minister* of the *church* of *Christ*, which is his *body*, unless he be a member of the *body*, and receive of the virtue and life of the *head:*

But he that hath not *true grace* can neither be a member of the *body*, neither receive of that life and nourishment which comes from the *head:*

Therefore far less can he be a *minister* to edify the *body.*

That he cannot be a minister who is not a member is evident; because he who is not a member is shut out and cut off, and hath no place in the *body;* whereas the ministers are counted among the most eminent members of the *body.* But no man can be a member unless he receive of the virtue, life, and nourishment of the *head;* for the members that receive not this life and nourishment decay and wither, and then are cut off. And that every true member doth thus receive nourishment and life from the *head*, the apostle expressly affirmeth, *Eph.* iv. 16. *From whom the whole body being fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, makes increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.* Now this that thus is communicated, and which thus uniteth the whole, is no other than the *grace of God;* and therefore the apostle in the same chapter, *ver.* 7. saith, *But unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ;* and *ver.* 11. he showeth how that *by this grace and gift both apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers are given for the work of the ministry, and edifying of the body of Christ.* And certainly then no man destitute of grace is fit for this work, seeing that all that Christ gives are so *qualified;* and these that are not so *qualified*, are not given nor sent of Christ, are not to be heard, nor received, nor acknowledged as *ministers of the gospel*, because his sheep neither ought nor will hear the *voice of a stranger.* This is also clear from 1 *Cor.* xii. throughout; for the apostle in that chapter, treating of the *diversity of gifts* and *members of the body*, showeth how by the *workings*

The sheep of Christ neither ought nor will hear the stranger's voice.

of the *same Spirit* in different *manifestations* or *measures* in the several members of the *body* the whole *body* is edified, saying, *ver.* 13. That *we are all baptized by the one Spirit into one body;* and then, *ver.* 28. he numbers up the several *dispensations* thereof, which by God are set in the church through the various workings of his Spirit for the edification of the whole. Then if there be no true member of the body which is not thus baptized by the Spirit, neither any thing that worketh to the edifying of it, but according to a measure of grace received from the Spirit, surely without grace none ought to be admitted to work or labour in the body, because their labour and work, without this grace and Spirit, would be but ineffectual.

§. XVI. Thirdly, That this *grace* and *gift* is a *necessary qualification* to a *minister*, is clear from that of the apostle *Peter*, 1 Pet. iv, 10, 11. *As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God: if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth; that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ; to whom be praise and dominion forever, Amen.* From which it appears, that those that *minister* must *minister* according to the *gift* and *grace* received; but they that have not such a *gift*, cannot *minister* according thereunto. Secondly, *As good stewards of the manifold grace of God:* but how can a man be a *good steward* of that which he hath not? Can ungodly men, that are not gracious themselves, be *good stewards* of the manifold *grace of God?* And therefore in the following verses he makes an exclusive limitation of such that are not thus furnished, saying, *If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; and if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability that God giveth:* which is as much

The ministering must be by the gift and grace received.

Good stewardship of what? Of God's abounding grace, which is the ability and stewardship received.

as if he had said, they that cannot thus *speak*, and thus *minister*, ought not to do it: for this [*If*] denotes a necessary condition. Now what this *ability* is, is manifest by the former words, to wit, the *gift* received, and the *grace* whereof they are *stewards*, as by the immediate context and dependency of the words doth appear. Neither can it be understood of a mere natural ability, because man in this condition is said *not to know the things of God*, and so he cannot *minister* them to others. And the following words show this also, in that he immediately subjoineth, *that God in all things may be glorified;* but surely God is not glorified, but greatly dishonoured, when natural men, from their mere natural ability, meddle in spiritual things, which they neither know nor understand.

Pr. IV.

Fourthly, That *grace* is a most necessary *qualification* for a *minister*, appears by those qualifications which the apostle expressly requires, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2. *Tit.* i. *&c.* where he saith, *A bishop must be blameless, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, apt to teach, patient, a lover of good men, just, holy, temperate, as the steward of God, holding fast the faithful word as he hath been taught.* Upon the other hand, *He must neither be given to wine, nor a striker, nor covetous, nor proud, nor self-willed, nor soon angry.* Now I ask if it be not impossible that a man can have all these above-named virtues, and be free of all these evils, without the *grace of God?* If then these virtues, for the producing of which in a man grace is absolutely necessary, be necessary to make a true *minister* of the church of Christ according to the apostle's judgment, surely grace must be necessary also.

How can a bishop have these virtues without the grace of God?

Concerning this thing a learned man, and well skilled in *antiquity*, about the time of the *reformation*, writeth thus: "Whatsoever is done in the "church, either for ornament or edification of re-"ligion, whether in choosing magistrates or insti-

Whatsoever is done in the church without the ministry of God's Spirit is vain & wicked.

"tuting ministers of the church, except it be done "by the ministry of God's Spirit, which is as it were "the soul of the church, it is vain and wicked. For "whoever hath not been called by the Spirit of "God to the great office of God and dignity of apos-"tleship, as *Aaron* was, and hath not entered in by "the door, which is *Christ*, but hath otherways risen "in the church by the window, by the favours of "men, &c. truly such a one is not the vicar of "Christ and his apostles, but a thief and robber, "and the vicar of *Judas Iscariot* and *Simon* the *Sa-"maritan*. Hence it was so strictly appointed con-"cerning the election of *prelates*, which holy *Dio-"nysius* calls the sacrament of nomination, that the "bishops and apostles who should oversee the ser-"vice of the church should be men of most entire "manners and life, powerful in sound doctrine, to "give a reason for all things." So also another,* about the same time writeth thus: "Therefore it "can never be, that by the tongues or learning any "can give a sound judgment concerning the holy "scriptures, and the truth of God. Lastly," saith he, "the sheep of Christ seeks nothing but the voice "of Christ, which he knoweth by the Holy Spirit, "wherewith he is filled: he regards not learning, "tongues, or any outward thing, so as therefore to "believe this or that to be the voice of Christ his true "shepherd; he knoweth that there is need of no "other thing but the *testimony* of the *Spirit of God*."

Who is Judas Iscariot's vicar?

Obj. 1. §. XVII. Against this absolute necessity of *grace* they object, *That if all ministers had the saving grace of God, then all ministers should be saved, seeing none can fall away from or lose saving grace.*

Answ. But this objection is built upon a false hypothesis, purely denied by us; and we have in the former proposition concerning *perseverance* already refuted it.

* *Franciscus Lambertus Arenionensis*, in his book concerning *Prophecy, Learning, Tongues*, and the *Spirit of Prophecy*. Argent. *excus. anno.* 1516, de *prov.* cap. 24.

Secondly, It may be objected to us, *That since we affirm that every man hath a measure of true and saving grace, there needs no singular qualification either to a Christian or minister; for seeing every man hath this grace, then no man needs forbear to be a minister for want of grace.* Obj. 2.

I answer, We have above shown that there is necessary to the making a minister a *special* and *particular call* from the Spirit of God, which is something besides the universal dispensation of *grace* to all, according to that of the apostle, *No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was* Aaron. Moreover, we understand by *grace* as a *qualification* to a *minister*, not the mere measure of *light*, as it is given to reprove and call him to righteousness; but we understand *grace* as it hath converted the soul, and operateth powerfully in it, as hereafter, concerning the *work of ministers*, will further appear. So we understand not men simply as having *grace* in them as a *seed*, which we indeed affirm *all* have in a measure; but we understand *men* that are *gracious*, leavened by it into the nature thereof, so as thereby to bring forth those good fruits of a blameless conversation, and of justice, holiness, patience, and temperance, which the apostle requires as necessary in a true *Christian bishop* and *minister*. Answ. Heb. v. 4. All have God's grace which calls to righteousness, but all are not so leavened into its nature as to bring forth fruits of a blameless holy life.

Thirdly, They* object the *example of the false prophets, of the Pharisees, and of* Judas. Obj. 3.

But First, As to the *false prophets*, there can nothing be more foolish and ridiculous; as if because there were *false prophets*, really *false*, without the grace of God, therefore grace is not necessary to a true christian minister. Indeed if they had proved that *true prophets* wanted this grace, they had said something; but what have *false prophets* common with *true ministers*, but that they pretend falsely that which they have not? And because *false* Answ. The false not the true prophets want the grace of God.

* So *Nic. Arnoldus* Sect. 32. upon *Thesis* 4.

prophets want true grace, will it therefore follow, that *true prophets* ought not to have it, that they may be *true* and not *false?* The example of the *Pharisees* and *priests* under the *law* will not answer to the *gospel times*, because God set apart a particular *tribe* for that service, and particular *families*, to whom it belonged by a *lineal succession*; and also their service and work was not purely spiritual, but only the performance of some outward and carnal observations and ceremonies, which were but a shadow of the substance that was to come; and therefore their work *made not the comers thereunto perfect, as appertaining to the conscience*, seeing they were appointed only according to the *law of a carnal commandment*, and not according to the *power of an endless life*. Notwithstanding as in the figure they were to be *without blemish* as to their outward man, and in the performance of their work they were to be washed and purified from their outward pollutions, so now, under the *gospel times*, the *ministers* in the antitype must be inwardly *without blemish in their souls and spirits*, being, as the apostle requires, *blameless*, and in their work and service must be *pure* and *undefiled* from their inward pollutions, and so *clean* and *holy*, *that they may offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Jesus Christ*, 1 Pet. ii. 5. As to *Judas*, the season of his *ministry* was not wholly evangelical, as being before the work was *finished*, and while Christ himself and his disciples were yet subject to the *Jewish observances* and *constitutions*, and therefore his commission, as well as that which the rest received with him at that time, was *only to the house of* Israel, *Mat.* x. 5, 6. which made that by virtue of that commission the rest of the apostles were not empowered to go forth and preach after the resurrection until they had waited at *Jerusalem* for the pouring forth of the Spirit: so that it appears *Judas's ministry* was more *legal* than *evangelical*. Secondly, *Judas's* case, as all

The service under the law was not purely spiritual, but figurative, for the performance of which, as they behoved to be purified from their outward pollutions, so the ministers of the gospel must be inwardly without blemish.

The ministry of the disciples of Christ before the work was finished was more legal than evangelical.

will acknowledge, was singular and extraordinary, he being *immediately called* by Christ himself, and accordingly *furnished* and *empowered* by him to preach, and do miracles; which *immediate commission* our adversaries do not so much as pretend to, and so fall short of *Judas*, who trusted in Christ's words, and therefore went forth and preached, *without gold or silver, or scrip for his journey; giving freely* as he had *freely received;* which our adversaries will not do, as hereafter shall be observed: also that *Judas* at that time had not the least measure of God's grace, I have not as yet heard proved. But is it not sad, that even *Protestants* should lay aside the eleven good and faithful apostles, and all the rest of the holy disciples and ministers of Christ, and betake them to that one, of whom it was testified that he was a *devil*, for a pattern and example to their *ministry?* Alas! it is to be regretted, that too many of them resemble this pattern over-much.

Judas was immediately called of Christ, & preached freely, which our adversaries will not do; altho' they make him a pattern of their graceless ministry, saying, he had not the least measure of God's grace at that time.

Another *objection* is usually made against the necessity of grace, **That in case it were necessary, then such as wanted it could not truly administer the sacraments; and consequently the people would be left in doubts and infinite scruples, as not knowing certainly whether they had truly received them, because not knowing infallibly whether the administrators were truly gracious men.*

Object.

*Ibid. Nic Arnoldus.

But this objection hitteth not us at all, because the nature of that *Spiritual* and *Christian worship*, which we according to the truth plead for, is such as is not necessarily attended with these carnal and outward institutions, from the administering of which the objection ariseth; and so hath not any such absurdity following upon it, as will afterwards more clearly appear.

Answ.

§. XVIII. Though then we make not *human learning* necessary, yet we are far from excluding true *learning*; to wit, that *learning* which proceedeth from the inward teachings and instructions of

What true learning is.

the Spirit, whereby the soul learneth the secret ways of the Lord, becomes acquainted with many inward travails and exercises of the mind; and learneth by a living experience how to overcome evil, and the temptations of it, by *following the Lord*, and *walking in his light*, and *waiting daily for wisdom and knowledge immediately from the revelation thereof;* and so *layeth up* these heavenly and divine lessons *in the good treasure of the heart*, as honest *Mary* did the sayings which she heard, and things which she observed: and also out of this treasure of the soul, as the good *scribe*, brings forth things *new and old*, according as the same Spirit moves, and gives true liberty, and as the glory of God requires, for whose glory the soul, *which is the temple of God*, learneth to do all things. This is that good *learning* which we think necessary to a true *minister;* by and through which *learning* a man can well instruct, teach, and admonish in due season, and testify for God from a certain experience; as did *David*, *Solomon*, and the holy prophets of old, and the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, who *testified of what they had seen, heard, felt, and handled of the word of life*, 1 John i. 1. *Ministering the gift according as they had received the same, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God;* and preached not the uncertain rumours of men by *hearsay*, which they had gathered merely in the comprehension, while they were strangers to the thing in their own experience in themselves: as to teach people how to believe, while themselves were unbelieving; or how to overcome sin, while themselves are slaves to it, as all ungracious men are; or to believe and hope for an eternal reward, which themselves have not as yet arrived at, &c.

The good learning which is necessary to a true minister.

§. XIX. But let us examine this *literature*, which they make so necessary to the being of a *minister;* as, in the first place, the knowledge of

Literature is first the knowledge of Latin,

the *tongues*, at least of the *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*. The reason of this is, That they may read the scripture, which is their only rule, in the *original languages*, and thereby be the more capable to comment upon it, and interpret it, &c. That also which made this knowledge be the more prized by the *primitive Protestants*, was indeed the dark barbarity that was over the world in the *centuries* immediately preceding the reformation; the knowledge of the *tongues* being about that time, (until it was even then restored by *Erasmus* and some others,) almost lost and extinct. And this barbarity was so much the more abominable, that the whole worship and prayers of the people were in the *Latin tongue;* and among that vast number of *priests*, *monks*, and *friars*, scarce one of a thousand understood his breviary, or that mass which he daily read and repeated: the scripture being, not only to the people, but to the greater part of the clergy, even as to the literal knowledge of it, as a sealed book. I shall not at all discommend the zeal that the *first reformers* had against this *Babylonish darkness*, nor their pious endeavours to translate the *Holy Scriptures*: I do truly believe, according to their knowledge, that they did it candidly: and therefore to answer the just desires of those that desire to read them, and for other very good reasons, as maintaining a commerce and understanding among divers nations by these common languages, and others of that kind, we judge it necessary and commendable that there be *public schools* for the teaching and instructing such youth, as are inclinable thereunto, in the languages. And although that *papal ignorance* deserved justly to be abhorred and abominated, we see nevertheless, that the true *reformation* consists not in that knowledge; because although since that time the *Papists*, stirred up through emulation of the *Protestants*, have more applied themselves to literature, and it now more

Greek, & Hebrew.

Before the reformation the prayers of the people were in the Latin tongue.

The zeal & endeavours of the first reformers commended.

The knowledge of languages commendable, and schools necessary.

The Papists literature and knowledge, especially the Jesuits.

flourisheth in their *universities* and *cloisters*, than before, (especially in the *Ignatian* or *Jesuitic sect*,) they are as far now as ever from a true *reformation*, and more hardened in their pernicious *doctrines*. But all this will not make it a necessary qualification to a minister, far less a more necessary qualification than the grace of God and his spirit; because the Spirit and grace of God can make up this want in the most rustic and ignorant; but this knowledge can no ways make up the want of the Spirit in the most learned and eloquent. For all that which man by his own industry, learning, and knowledge in the *languages*, can interpret of the scriptures, or find out, is nothing without the Spirit; he cannot be certain, but may still miss of the sense of it: Whereas a poor man, that knoweth not a letter, when he heareth the scriptures read, by the same Spirit, he can say, *This is true;* and by the same Spirit he can understand, open, and interpret it, if need be: yea, finding his condition to answer the condition and experience of the saints of old, he knoweth and possesseth the truths there delivered, because they are sealed and witnessed in his own heart by the same Spirit. And this we have plentiful experience of in many of those illiterate men, whom God hath raised up to be *ministers* in his church in this day; so that some such, by his Spirit, have corrected some of the errors of the *translators*, as in the third proposition concerning the *Scriptures* I before observed. Yea, I know myself a poor shoe-maker, that cannot read a word, who being assaulted with a false citation of scripture, from a public professor of *divinity*, before the *magistrate* of a city, when he had been taken up for preaching to some few who came to hear him; I say, I know such a one, and he is yet alive, who, though the professor, who also is esteemed a learned man, constantly asserted his saying to be a scripture-sentence, yet affirmed, not through any certain

The Spirit is the truest interpreter of the scriptures, whether from the original languages, or without them.

A poor shoemaker that could not read, refutes a professor of divinity's false assertions from scripture.

letter-knowledge he had of it, but from the most *certain evidence of the Spirit in himself*, that the *professor* was mistaken; and that the *Spirit of God* never said any such thing as the other affirmed: and the *Bible* being brought, it was found as the poor *shoemaker* had said.

§. XX. The second part of their *literature* is *logic* and *philosophy*, an art so little needful to a true minister, that if one that comes to be a true minister hath had it, it is safest for him to forget and lose it; for it is the root and ground of all contention and debate, and the way to make a thing a great deal darker, than clearer. For under the pretence of regulating man's reason into a certain order and rules, that he may find out (as they pretend) the truth, it leads into such a labyrinth of contention, as is far more fit to make a *sceptic* than a *Christian*, far less a minister of Christ; yea, it often hinders man from a clear understanding of things that his own reason would give him; and therefore through its manifold rules and divers inventions, it often gives occasion for a man, that hath little reason, foolishly to speak much to no purpose; seeing a man, that is not very wise, may notwithstanding be a perfect *logician*. And then, if ye would make a man a fool to purpose that is not very wise, do but teach him *logic* and *philosophy;* and whereas before he might have been fit for something, he shall then be good for nothing, but to speak nonsense; for these notions will so swim in his head, that they will make him extremely busy about nothing. The use that wise and solid men make of it, is, to see the emptiness thereof; therefore saith one, *It is an art of contention and darkness, by which all other sciences are rendered more obscure, and harder to be understood.*

2. Logic and philosophy not needful to a preacher.

The use of logic is to see its emptiness.

If it be urged, *That thereby the truth may be maintained and confirmed, and heretics confuted;*

Answ. I answer, The truth, in men truly rational, needeth not the help thereof; and such as are obstinate, this will not convince; for by this they may learn twenty tricks and distinctions, how to shut out the truth: and the truth proceeding from an honest heart, and spoken forth from the virtue and Spirit of God, will have more influence, and take sooner and more effectually, than by a thousand demonstrations of *logic;* as that *heathen philosopher** acknowledged, who, disputing with the *Christian bishops* in the *council* of *Nice*, was so subtile, that he could not be overcome by them; but yet by a few words spoken by a simple old *rustic*, was presently convinced by him, and converted to the Christian faith; and being inquired how he came to yield to that ignorant old man, and not to the bishops; he said, *That they contended with him in his own way, and he could still give words for words; but there came from the old man that virtue, which he was not able to resist.* This *secret virtue* and *power* ought to be the *logic* and *philosophy* wherewith a true Christian minister should be furnished: and for which they need not be beholden to *Aristotle.* As to *natural logic*, by which rational men, without that art and rules, or sophistical learning, deduce a certain conclusion out of true propositions, which scarce any man of reason wants, we deny not the use of it; and I have sometimes used it in this treatise; which also may serve without that *dialectic art.* As for the other part of *philosophy*, which is called *moral*, or *ethics*, it is not so necessary to Christians, who have the rules of the holy scriptures, and the gift of the Holy Spirit, by which they can be much better instructed. The *physical* and *metaphysical* part may be reduced to the arts of *medicine* and the *mathematics*, which have nothing to do with the essence of a *Christian*

An heathen philosopher disputing with the bishops in the council of Nice, was converted to the Christian faith by an ignorant old man, when they could not.

Natural logic useful.

3. Ethics, or the manner-rules to Christians not needful.

4. Physics, and the metaphysics, make no preachers of the truth.

* Lucæ Osiandri Epit. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 5. cent. 4.

minister. And therefore the apostle *Paul*, who well understood what was good for Christian ministers, and what hurtful, thus exhorted the *Colossians*, Col. ii. 8. *Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit.* And to his beloved disciple *Timothy* he writes also thus, 1 *Tim.* vi. 20. *O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called.*

III. The learned school-divinity obnoxious; a monster; a letter knowledge heathenized.

§. XXI. The third and main part of their literature is *school-divinity*, a *monster*, made up of some *scriptural notions* of *truth*, and the *heathenish terms* and *maxims*; being, as it were, the *heathenish philosophy christianized*, or rather, the *literal external knowledge of Christ heathenized.* It is man in his first, fallen, natural state, with his devilish wisdom, pleasing himself with some notions of truth, and adorning them with his own sensual and carnal wisdom, because he thinks the simplicity of the truth too low and mean a thing for him; and so despiseth that simplicity, wheresoever it is found, that he may set up and exalt himself, puffed up with this his monstrous birth. It is the devil, darkening, obscuring, and veiling the knowledge of God, with his serpentine and worldly wisdom; that so he may the more securely deceive the hearts of the simple, and make the truth, as it is in itself, despicable and hard to be known and understood, by multiplying a thousand difficult and needless questions, and endless contentions and debates. All which, he who perfectly knoweth, is not a whit less the servant of sin than he was; but ten times more so, in that he is exalted, and proud of iniquity, and so much the farther from receiving, understanding, or learning the truth, as it is in its own naked simplicity; because he is full, learned, rich, and wise in his own conceit: and so those that are most skilled in it, wear out their day, and spend their pre-

cious time about the infinite and innumerable questions they have feigned and invented concerning it. A certain learned man called it, *A two-fold discipline, like the race of the* Centaurs, *partly proceeding from divine sayings, partly from philosophical reasons.* A thousand of their questions they confess themselves to be no-ways necessary to salvation; and yet many more of them they could never agree upon, but are, and still will be, in endless janglings about them. The volumes that have been written about it, a man in his whole age could scarce read, though he lived to be very old; and when he has read them all, he has but wrought himself a great deal more vexation and trouble of spirit than he had before. These certainly are the *words multiplied without knowledge; by which counsel hath been darkened,* Job xxxviii. 2. They make the scripture the text of all this mass; and it is concerning the sense of it that their voluminous debates arise. But a man of a good upright heart may learn more in half an hour, and be more certain of it, by waiting upon *God,* and his *Spirit in the heart,* than by reading a thousand of their volumes; which, by filling his head with many needless imaginations, may well stagger his faith, but never confirm it: and indeed those that give themselves most to it, are most capable to fall into error, as appeareth by the example of *Origen,* who, by his learning, was one of the first, that falling into this way of interpreting the scriptures, wrote so many volumes, and in them so many errors, as very much troubled the church. Also *Arius,* led by this curiosity and human scrutiny, despising the simplicity of the gospel, fell into his *error,* which was the cause of that horrible heresy which so much troubled the church. Methinks the simplicity, plainness, and brevity of the scriptures themselves, should be a sufficient reproof for such a science; and

Its needless questions and endless janglings.

Whereby Arius fell into error and schism.

the apostles, being honest, plain, illiterate men, may be better understood by such kind of men now, than with all that mass of scholastic stuff, which neither *Peter*, nor *Paul*, nor *John*, ever thought of.

§. XXII. But this invention of Satan, wherewith he began the *apostacy*, hath been of dangerous consequence; for thereby he at first spoiled the simplicity of truth, by keeping up the *heathenish learning*, which occasioned such uncertainty, even among those called *Fathers*, and such debate, that there are few of them to be found, who, by reason of this mixture, do not only frequently contradict one another, but themselves also. And therefore, when the *apostacy* grew greater, he, as it were, buried the truth with this veil of darkness, wholly shutting out people from true knowledge, and making the learned (so accounted) busy themselves with idle and needless questions; while the weighty truths of God were neglected, and went, as it were, into disuse.

The apostacy, and its dangerous consequences.

Many of of the Fathers do not only contradict each other, but themselves also, and why.

Now, though the grossest of these abuses be swept away by *Protestants;* yet the evil root still remains, and is nourished and upheld; and the science kept up, as being deemed necessary for a minister: for, while the pure learning of the *Spirit* of *truth* is despised and neglected, and made ineffectual, man's fallen earthly wisdom is upheld; and so in that he labours and works with the *scriptures*, being out of the *Life* and *Spirit* which those that wrote them were in, by which only they are rightly understood, and made use of. And so he that is to be a minister, must learn this *art* or *trade* of *merchandising* with the *scriptures*, and be that which the apostle would not be, to wit, a *trader with them*, 2 Cor. ii. 17. That he may acquire a knack from a verse of scripture, by adding his own barren notions and conceptions to it, and his uncertain

Merchandising with the scriptures, what it is. See also 2 Pet. ii. 3.

conjectures, and what he hath stolen out of books; for which end he must have of necessity a good many by him, and may each *sabbath-day*, as they call it, or oftener, make a discourse for an hour long; and this is called the *preaching of the word:* whereas the gift, grace, and Spirit of God, to teach, open, and instruct, and to preach a word in season, is neglected; and so man's *arts* and *parts*, and *knowledge*, and *wisdom*, which is *from below*, are set up and established in the temple of God, yea, and above the little *seed;* which in effect is *Antichrist*, working in the mystery. And so the devil may be as good and able a minister as the best of them; for he has better skill in *languages*, and more *logic*, *philosophy*, and *school-divinity*, than any of them; and knows the truth in the notion better than they all, and can talk more eloquently than all those preachers. But what availeth all this? Is it not all but as death, as a painted sepulchre, and dead carcase, without the power, life and spirit of Christianity, which is the marrow and substance of a *Christian ministry?* And he that hath this, and can speak from it, though he be a poor shepherd, or a fisherman, and ignorant of all that learning, and of all those questions and notions; yet speaking from the Spirit, his ministry will have more influence towards the converting of a sinner unto God, than all of them who are learned after the flesh; as in that example of the old man at the *council* of *Nice* did appear.

And this they call the preaching of the word.

Thus Antichrist is established above the seed of the kingdom.

How the devil may be a minister of the priests' gospel.

§. XXIII. And if in any age, since the apostles' days, God hath purposed to show his power by *weak instruments*, for the battering down of that *carnal* and *heathenish wisdom*, and restoring again the *ancient simplicity* of *truth*, this is it. For in our day, God hath raised up witnesses for himself, as he did fishermen of old; many, yea, most of whom, are labouring and mechanic men, who, altogether without that learning, have, by the

The power of God by weak instruments restoring the simplicity of truth.

power and Spirit of God, struck at the very root and ground of *Babylon;* and in the strength and might of this power, have gathered thousands, by reaching their consciences, into the same power and life, who, as to the outward part, have been far more knowing than they, yet not able to resist the virtue that proceeded from them. Of which I myself am a true witness; and can declare from certain experience, because my heart hath been often greatly broken and tendered by that virtuous life that proceeded from the powerful ministry of those illiterate men: so that by their very countenance, as well as words, I have felt the evil in me often chained down, and the good reached to and raised. What shall I then say to you, who are lovers of learning, and admirers of knowledge? Was not I also a lover and admirer of it, who also sought after it, according to my age and capacity? But it pleased God in his unutterable love, early to withstand my vain endeavours, while I was yet but eighteen years of age; and made me seriously to consider, (which I wish also may befall others,) That without *holiness and regeneration, no man can see God;* and that *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to depart from iniquity, a good understanding;* and how much *knowledge puffeth up*, and leadeth away from that *inward quietness, stillness*, and *humility of mind*, where the Lord appears, and his heavenly wisdom is revealed. If ye consider these things, then will ye say with me, that all this learning, wisdom, and knowledge, gathered in this fallen nature, is but as *dross* and *dung*, in *comparison of the cross of Christ;* especially being destitute of that power, life, and virtue, which I perceive these excellent (though despised, because illiterate) witnesses of God to be filled with: and therefore seeing, that in and among them, I, with many others, have found the *heavenly food* that gives *content-*

The powerful ministry of illiterate men.

The time of the author's first convincement.

Job xxviii. 28.

ment, let my soul seek after this *learning*, and wait for it for ever.

Ques. 3. §. XXIV. Having thus spoken of the *call* and *qualifications* of a *gospel-minister*, that which comes next to be considered, is, *What his proper work is, how, and by what rule, he is to be ordered?* Our adversaries do all along go upon *externals*, and therefore have certain prescribed rules and methods, contrived according to their human and earthly wisdom: we, on the contrary, walk still upon the same *foundation*, and lean always upon the immediate assistance and influence of that *Holy Spirit*, which God hath given his *children*, to teach them all things, and lead them in all things: which *Spirit*, being the *Spirit of order*, and not of *confusion*, leads us, and as many as follow it, into such a *comely* and *decent order* as becometh the church of God. But our adversaries, having shut themselves out from this immediate counsel and influence of the Spirit, have run themselves into many confusions and disorders, seeking to establish an order in this matter. For some will have *first* a *chief bishop*, or *pope*, to rule and be a prince over all; and under him, by degrees, *cardinals*, *patriarchs*, *archbishops*, *priests*, *deacons*, *sub-deacons*; and besides these, *Acoluthi*, *Tonsorati*, *Ostiarii*, *&c.* And in their *theology*, (as they call it,) *professors*, *bachelors*, *doctors*, *&c.* And others would have every nation *independent* of another, having its own *metropolitan* or *patriarch*; and the rest in order subject to him, as before. Others again are against all *precedency* among *pastors*, and constitute their *subordination* not of persons, but of powers: as first the *consistory*, or *session*; then the *class*, or *presbytery*; then the *provincial*; and then the *national synod*, or *assembly*. Thus they *tear one another*, and contend among themselves concerning the ordering, distinguishing, and making their several orders and offices; concerning which there hath been no less

The work of a minister.

The Holy Spirit, a Spirit of order, and not of confusion.

Popish orders and offices, &c.

contest, not only by way of verbal dispute, but even by fighting, tumults, wars, devastations, and bloodshed, than about the conquering, overturning, and establishing of kingdoms. And the *histories* of late times are as full of the various *tragedies*, acted on account of this *spiritual* and *ecclesiastical monarchy* and *commonwealth*, as the *histories* of old times are of the wars and contests that fell out both in the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Greek*, and *Roman* empires: these last upon this account, though among those that are called *Christians*, have been no less bloody and cruel than the former among *heathens*, concerning their outward empires and governments. Now all this, both among *Papists* and *Protestants*, proceedeth, in that they seek in imitation to uphold a form and shadow of things, though they want the power, virtue, and substance; while for many of their orders and forms they have not so much as the name in the scripture. But in opposition to all this mass of formality, and heap of orders, rules and governments, we say, *the substance is chiefly to be sought after, and the power, virtue, and spirit, is to be known and waited for, which is one* in all the different names and offices the scripture makes use of; as appears by 1 *Cor.* xii. 4. (often before-mentioned,) *There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.* And after the apostle, throughout the whole chapter, hath shown how one and the self-same Spirit worketh in and quickeneth each member; then, in *verse* 28. he showeth how thereby God hath set in the church, first *apostles*, secondly *prophets*, *teachers*, *&c.* And likewise to the same purpose, *Eph.* iv. 11. he showeth, how by these gifts *he hath given some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, some teachers, &c.* Now it never was Christ's purpose, nor the apostles', that *Christians* should, without this Spirit and heavenly gift, set up a shadow and form of these orders, and so make several ranks

Wars and bloodshed about church government.

The ground & cause thereof.

and degrees, to establish a *carnal ministry* of men's making, without the life, power, and spirit of Christ: this is that *work* of *Antichrist*, and *mystery* of *iniquity*, that hath got up in the dark night of apostacy. But in a true *church* of *Christ*, gathered together by God, not only into the belief of the *principles of truth*, but also into the power, life, and Spirit of *Christ*, the Spirit of God is the orderer, ruler, and governor; as in each particular, so in the general. And when they assemble together to wait upon God, and to worship and adore him; then such as the Spirit sets apart for the *ministry*, by its divine power and influence opening their mouths, and giving them to exhort, reprove, and instruct with virtue and power; these are thus ordained of God and admitted into the *ministry*, and their brethren cannot but hear them, receive them, and also *honour them for their work's sake*. And so this is not *monopolized* by a certain kind of men, as the *clergy*, (who are to that purpose educated and brought up as other carnal *artists*,) and the rest to be despised as *laics;* but it is left to the *free gift of God* to choose any whom he seeth meet thereunto, whether rich or poor, servant or master, young or old, yea, male or female. And such as have this call, verify the gospel, by *preaching not in speech only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much fulness*, 1 Thess. i. 5. and cannot but be received and heard by the *sheep of Christ*.

The work of Antichrist and mystery of iniquity.

Such as the Spirit sets apart to the ministry, their brethren hear them.

The clergy and laics.

Women may preach.

Object. §. XXV. But if it be objected here, *That I seem hereby to make no distinction at all betwixt ministers and others; which is contrary to the apostle's saying*, 1 Cor. xii. 29. *Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? &c.* From thence they insinuate, *That I also contradict his comparison in that chapter, of the church of Christ with a human body;* as where he saith, verse 17. *If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing,*

where were the smelling? &c. Also the apostle not only distinguisheth the ministers of the church in general from the rest of the members, but also from themselves; as naming them distinctly and separately, apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers, &c.

As to the last part of this objection, to which I shall first answer; it is apparent, that this diversity of names is not to distinguish separate offices, but to denote the different and various operations of the Spirit; a manner of speech frequent with the apostle *Paul*, wherein he sometimes expatiates to the illustrating of the glory and praise of God's grace: as in particular, *Rom.* xii. 6. *Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation.* Now none will say from all this, that these are *distinct offices*, or do not or may not coincide in one person, as may all those other things mentioned by him in the subsequent verses, viz. *Of loving, being kindly affectioned, fervency of Spirit, hospitality, diligence, blessing, rejoicing, &c.* which he yet numbers forth as different gifts of the Spirit, and according to this objection might be placed as distinct and separate offices, which were most absurd.

Ans. 1. Diversity of names makes no distinct offices; but which may coincide, or be together in one person.

Secondly, In these very places mentioned it is clear that it is no real distinction of separate offices; because all acknowledge, that *pastors* and *teachers*, (which the apostle there no less separateth and distinguisheth, than *pastors* and *prophets*, or *apostles*,) are one and the same, and coincide in the same *office* and *person;* and therefore may be said so of the rest. For [*prophecy*] as it signifies the *foretelling of things to come*, is indeed a distinct gift, but no distinct office; and therefore our adversaries do not place it among their several orders: neither will they deny, but that it both may be and hath

Prophecy & prophesying, its two-fold signification.

been given of God to some, that not only have been *pastors* and *teachers*, and that there it hath coincided in one person with these other offices, but also to some of the *laics:* and so it hath been found, according to their own confession, without the limits of their *clergy*. *Prophecy* in the other sense, to wit, as it signifies a *speaking from the Spirit of truth*, is not only peculiar to *pastors* and *teachers*, who ought so to *prophesy;* but even a common privilege to the *saints*. For though to instruct, teach, and exhort, be proper to such as are more particularly called to the work of the *ministry;* yet it is not so proper to them, as not to be (when the saints are met together, as any of them are moved by the Spirit) common to others: for some acts belong to all in such a relation; but not only to those within that relation: *Competunt omni, sed non soli.* Thus to *see* and *hear* are proper acts of a man; seeing it may be properly predicated of him, that he *heareth* and *seeth:* yet are they common to other creatures also. So to *prophesy* in this sense, is indeed proper to *ministers* and *teachers;* yet not so, but that it is common and lawful to other *saints*, when moved thereunto, though it be not proper to them by way of relation: because, notwithstanding that motion, they are not particularly called to the work of the *ministry*, as appears by 1 *Cor.* xiv. where the apostle at large declaring the order and ordinary method of the church, saith, vers. 30, 31. *But if* any thing *be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace; for ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted:* which showeth that none is here excluded. But yet that there is a *subordination*, according to the various measures of the gift received, the next verse showeth: *And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets: for God is not the* author *of confusion, but of peace.* Now that *prophesying*, in this sense, may be *common to all saints*,

To prophesy, a privilege of teachers, and of all the saints.

appears by verse 39. of the same chapter, where speaking to [*all*] in general, he saith, *Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophesy;* and verse 1. he exhorts them, saying, *Desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy.*

Who are evangelists; and whether any may term themselves so now-a-days.

Secondly, As to *evangelists* the same may be said; for whoever preacheth the *gospel* is really an *evangelist*, and so consequently every true *minister* of the *gospel* is one; else what proper office can they assign to it, unless they should be so foolish as to affirm that none were *evangelists* but *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*, who wrote the account of Christ's life and sufferings? and then it were neither a particular office, seeing *John* and *Matthew* were apostles, *Mark* and *Luke* pastors and teachers, so that there they coincided in one. And indeed it is absurd to think, that upon that particular account the apostle used the word [*evangelist.*] *Calvin* acknowledgeth, that *such as preach the gospel in purity, after some time of apostacy, may be truly called* evangelists, and therefore saith, that *there were apostles in his time;* and hence the *Protestants*, at their first coming forth, termed themselves *evangelici*, or *evangelics.*

Who is an apostle.

Lastly, An *apostle*, if we look to the etymology of the word, signifies *one that is sent;* and in respect *every true minister is sent of God*, in so far he is an *apostle;* though the *twelve*, because of their being *specially sent of Christ*, were therefore called *apostles* καθ' ἐξοχὴν, or *per eminentiam*, i. e. by way of excellency.

They were not limited to such a number.

And yet that there was no limitation to such a number, as some foolishly imagine, appears, because after that number was filled up, the apostle *Paul* was afterwards so called; therefore we judge that these are no distinct separate offices, but only names used upon occasion to express the more eminent arising and shining forth of *God's grace.* As if any *minister* of *Christ* should now proselyte and turn a whole nation to the *Christian*

Whether any man be called an apostle at this day.

faith, though he had no distinct office, yet I doubt not but both *Papists* and *Protestants* would judge it tolerable to call such an one an *apostle*, or an *evangelist;* for on this account the *Jesuits* call some of their sect *apostles* of *India* and of *Japan;* and *Calvin* testifies that there were *apostles* and *evangelists* in his time, in respect to the *reformation;* upon which account also we have known *John Knox* often called the *apostle* of *Scotland*. So that we conclude that *ministers*, *pastors*, or *teachers* do comprehend *all*, and that the office is but *one*, and therefore in that respect we judge there ought to be no precedency among them: to prove which I shall not here insist, seeing it is shown largely, and treated of by such as have denied the *Diocesan Episcopacy*, as they call it.

Upon what account John Knox was called the apostle of Scotland.

§. XXVI. As to the first part of the *objection*, viz. *That I seem to make no distinction betwixt the minister and people*, I answer, If it be understood of a liberty to *speak* or *prophesy* by the *Spirit*, I say all may do that, when moved thereunto, as above is shown; but we do believe and affirm that some are more particularly called to the work of the *ministry*, and therefore are fitted of the Lord for that purpose; whose work is more constantly and particularly to instruct, exhort, admonish, oversee, and watch over their brethren; and that as there is something more incumbent upon them in that respect than upon every common believer, so also, as in that relation, there is due to them from the flock such obedience and subjection as is mentioned in these testimonies of the scripture, *Heb.* xiii. 17. 1 *Thess.* v. 12, 13. 1 *Tim.* v. 17. 1 *Pet.* v. 5. Also besides these who are thus particularly called to the *ministry*, and constant labour in the word and doctrine, there are also the *elders*, who though they be not moved to a frequent testimony by way of declaration in words, yet as

Ans. 2.

Liberty to prophesy all have by the Spirit.

The elders take care for the widows, the poor, and fatherless.

such are grown up in the experience of the blessed work of truth in their hearts, they watch over and privately admonish the young, take care for the widows, the poor, and fatherless, and look that nothing be wanting, but that peace, love, unity, concord, and soundness be preserved in the *church of Christ;* and this answers to the *deacons* mentioned *Acts* vi.

The distinction of clergy and laity not to be found in scripture.

That which we oppose, is the distinction of *laity* and *clergy*, which in the scripture is not to be found, whereby none are admitted unto the work of the *ministry* but such as are educated at *schools* on purpose, and instructed in *logic* and *philosophy*, *&c.* and so are at their apprenticeship to learn the *art* and *trade* of *preaching*, even as a man learns any other *art*, whereby all other honest *mechanic men*, who have not got this *heathenish art*, are excluded from having this privilege. And so he that is a *scholar* thus bred up must not have any honest trade whereby to get him a livelihood, if he once intend for the *ministry*, but he must see to get him a place, and then he hath his *set hire* for a *livelihood* to him. He must also be distinguished from the rest by the colour of his clothes, for he must only wear *black;* and must be a *master of arts:* but more of this hereafter.

Their garb.

§. XXVII. As this manner of separating men for the *ministry* is nothing like the church in the apostles' days, so great evils have and do follow upon it. For first, Parents seeing both the honour and profit that attends the *clergy*, do allot their children sometimes from their infancy to it, and so breed them up on purpose. And others, come to age, upon the same account betake them to the same trade, and having these natural and acquired parts that are judged the necessary qualifications of a *minister*, are thereby admitted, and so are bred up in idleness and pleasure, thinking

The clergy's study out of books, the gift of God neglected.

it a disgrace for them to work with their hands; and so just study a little out of their books, to make a discourse once or twice a week during the running of an hour-glass; whereas the gift, grace, and Spirit of God, to call and qualify for the *ministry*, is neglected and overlooked. And many *covetous*, *corrupt*, *earthly*, *carnal* men, having a mere show and form, but strangers to, and utterly ignorant of, the inward work and grace upon their hearts, are brought in and intrude themselves, and so through them death, barrenness, and darkness, and by consequence, superstition, error, and idolatry have entered and leavened the *church*. And they that will narrowly observe, shall find that it was thus the *apostacy* came to take place; of the truth of which I could give many examples, which for brevity's sake I omit. Thus the office, reverence, and respect due to it were annexed to the mere name, so that when once a man was ordained a *bishop* or a *priest*, he was heard and believed, though he had nothing of the Spirit, power, and life that the true *apostles* and *ministers* were in. And thus in a short time the succession came to be of the name and title, and the office was thereto annexed; and not of the nature, virtue, and life; which in effect made them to cease to be the *ministry* and *ministers* of *Christ*, but only a shadow and vain image of it; which also decaying, was in some ages so metamorphosed, that not only the substance was lost, but the very form wholly vitiated, altered, and marred; so that it may be far better said of the pretended *Christian church*, as was disputed of *Theseus's* boat, (which by the piecing of many new pieces of timber was wholly altered,) *whether indeed it were the same or another?* But in case that the first had been of *oak*, and the pieces last put in but of rotten *fir*, and that also the form had been so far changed as to be nothing like the first, I think it would have suf-

The marred church compared to Theseus's pieced boat.

fered no dispute, but might have easily been concluded to be quite another, retaining nothing but the name, and that also unjustly. Secondly, From this distinction of *laity* and *clergy* this abuse also follows, that *good*, *honest*, *mechanic men*, and others who have not learned the art and trade of preaching, and so are not licentiated according to these rules they prescribe unto themselves; such, I say, being possessed with a false opinion that it is not lawful for them to meddle with the *ministry*, nor that they are any ways fit for it, because of the defect of that literature, do thereby neglect the gift in themselves, and quench many times the *pure breathings of the Spirit of God* in their hearts; which, if given way to, might prove much more for the edification of the church than many of the *conned sermons* of the learned. And so by this means the apostle's command and advice is slighted, who exhorteth, 1 *Thess.* v. 19, 20. *not to quench the Spirit, nor despise prophesyings.* And all this is done by men pretending to be *Christians*, who glory that the first *preachers* and *propagators* of their *religion* were such kind of plain mechanic men, and illiterate. And even *Protestants* do no less than *Papists* exclude such kind of men from being *ministers* among them, and thus limit the Spirit and gift of God; though their *Fathers*, in opposition to *Papists*, asserted the contrary; and also their own *histories* declare how that kind of illiterate men did, without learning, by the Spirit of God, greatly contribute in divers places to the *Reformation.*

The abuse following the distinction of laity & clergy.

Both Protestants & Papists exclude mechanic men from preaching, who greatly contributed to the reformation.

By this it may appear, that as in *calling* and *qualifying*, so in *preaching* and *praying*, and the other particular steps of the *ministry*, every true *minister* is to know the Spirit of God by its virtue and life to accompany and assist him; but because this relates to *worship*, I shall speak of it more largely in the next proposition, which is concerning *worship.*

The last thing to be considered and inquired into is, concerning the *maintenance of a gospel minister;* but before I proceed, I judge it fit to speak something in short concerning the *preaching of women*, and to declare what we hold in that matter.

Women's public preaching & praying asserted.

Seeing *male and female are one in Christ Jesus*, and that he gives his Spirit no less to *one* than to the *other*, when God moveth by his Spirit *in a woman*, we judge it no ways unlawful for her to preach in the assemblies of God's people. Neither think we that of *Paul*, 1 Cor. xiv. 34. to reprove the *inconsiderate* and *talkative women* among the *Corinthians*, who troubled the church of Christ with their *unprofitable questions*, or that, 1 *Tim.* ii. 11, 12. that *women ought to learn in silence, not usurping authority over the man*, any ways repugnant to this doctrine; because it is clear that *women* have *prophesied* and *preached* in the *church*, else had that saying of *Joel* been ill applied by *Peter*, Acts ii. 17. And seeing *Paul* himself, in the same *epistle* to the *Corinthians*, giveth rules how women should behave themselves in their public *preaching* and *praying*, it would be a manifest contradiction if that other place were taken in a larger sense. And the same *Paul* speaks of a *woman* that laboured with him in the *work of the gospel:* and it is written that *Philip* had *four daughters* that prophesied. And Lastly, It hath been observed, that God hath *effectually* in this day *converted many souls* by the *ministry of women;* and by them also frequently comforted the souls of his children; which manifest experience puts the thing beyond all controversy. But now I shall proceed to speak of the *maintenance of ministers.*

Acts xxi. 9.

Ques. 4 Ministers' maintenance.

The ministers' food and their maintenance stated.

§. XXVIII. We freely acknowledge, as the *proposition* holds forth, that there is an obligation upon such to whom God sends, or among whom he raiseth up a *minister*, that, if need be, they minister to his necessities. Secondly, That it is lawful

for him to receive what is necessary and convenient. To prove this I need not insist, for our adversaries will readily grant it to us; for the thing we affirm is, that this is all that these scripture testimonies relating to this thing do grant, *Gal.* vi. 6. 1 *Cor.* ix. 11, 12, 13, 14. 1 *Tim.* v. 16. That which we then oppose in this matter is, First, That it should be constrained and limited. Secondly, That it should be superfluous, chargeable, and sumptuous. And Thirdly, The manifest abuse thereof, of which I shall also briefly treat.

I. Against constrained maintenance.

As to the First, our adversaries are forced to recur to the example of the *law;* a refuge they use in defending most of their errors and superstitions, which are contrary to the nature and purity of the *gospel.*

Object.

They say, *God appointed the* Levites *the tithes, therefore they belong also to such as minister in holy things under the* gospel.

Answ.

I answer, All that can be gathered from this is, that as the *priests* had *a* maintenance allowed them under the *law*, so also the *ministers* and *preachers* under the *gospel*, which is not denied; but the comparison will not hold that they should have the *very same;* since, First, There is no express *gospel command* for it, neither by Christ nor his apostles. Secondly, The parity doth no ways hold betwixt the *Levites* under the *law*, and the *preachers* under the *gospel;* because the *Levites* were one of the tribes of *Israel*, and so had a right to a part of the inheritance of the land as well as the rest of their brethren; and having none, had this allotted to them in lieu of it. Next, The tenth of the *tithes* was only allowed to the *priests* that served at the altar, the rest being for the *Levites*, and also to be put up in store-houses, for entertaining of widows and strangers. But these *preachers*, notwithstanding they inherit what they have by their parents, as well as other men, yet claim the

Tithes were appointed for the Levites, not for gospel preachers.

whole *tithes*, allowing nothing either to widow or stranger. But as to the *tithes* I shall not insist, because divers others have clearly and learnedly treated of them apart, and also divers *Protestants* do confess them not to be *jure divino;* and the parity as to the *quota* doth not hold, but only in general as to the *obligation* of a *maintenance;* which *maintenance*, though the hearers be obliged to give, and fail of their duty if they do not, yet that it ought neither to be stinted, nor yet forced, I prove; because Christ, when he sent forth his apostles, said, *Freely ye have received, freely give*, Mat. x. 8. and yet they had liberty to receive meat and drink from such as offered them, to supply their need. Which shows that they were not to seek or require any thing by force, or to stint, or make a bargain before hand, as the *preachers* as well among *Papists* as *Protestants* do in these days, who will not preach to any until they be first sure of so much a year; but on the contrary, these were to do their duty, and freely to communicate, as the Lord should order them, what they had received, without seeking or expecting a reward.

Reas. 1. The gospel freely to be preached without so much a year.

The answer given to this by *Nicolaus Arnoldus*, Exercit. Theolog. Sect. 42, 43. is not to be forgotten, but indeed to be kept upon record for a perpetual remembrance of him and his brethren; for he frankly answers after this manner, *We have not freely received, and therefore are not bound to give freely.* The answer I confess is ingenuous and good; for if those that receive freely are to give freely, it would seem to follow by the rule of *contraries*, that those that receive not freely ought not to give freely, and I shall grant it; only they must grant me, that they preach not by and according to the *gift and grace of God* received, nor can they be *good stewards of the manifold grace of God*, as every true *minister* ought to be; or else they

Nic. Arnoldus' answer to Freely ye have received, &c.

have gotten this *gift* or *grace* by money, as *Simon Magus* would have been compassing it, since they think themselves not bound to give it without money again. But to be plain, I believe he intended not that it was from the *gift* or *grace* of *God* they were to preach, but from their *acquired arts* and *studies*, which have cost them much labour, and also some money at the *university;* and therefore, as he that puts his stock into the public bank expects interest again, so these *scholars*, having spent some money in learning the art of preaching, think they may boldly say *they have it not freely;* for it hath cost them both money and pains, and therefore they expect both money and ease again. And therefore, as *Arnoldus* gets money for teaching his young students the *art* and *trade* of *preaching*, so he intends they should be repaid before they give it again to others. It was of old said, *Omnia venalia Romæ*, i. e. *All things are set to sale at* Rome; but now the same proverb may be applied to *Franequer*. And therefore *Arnoldus's students*, when they go about to preach, may safely seek and require hereby, telling their hearers their master's maxim, *Nos gratis non accepimus, ergo neque gratis dare tenemur*. But then they may answer again, That they find them and their master to be none of his *ministers*, who, when he sent forth his disciples, gave them this command, *Freely ye have received, freely give*, and therefore we will have none of your teaching, because we perceive you to be of the number of those *that look for their gain from their quarter*.

Simon Magus.

All things are set to sale at Rome, to Franequer applied.

Isa. lvi. 11.

§. XXIX. Secondly, The scripture testimonies that urge this are in the same nature of those that press *charity* and *liberality* towards the poor, and command *hospitality*, *&c.* but these are not nor can be stinted to a certain quantity, because they are deeds merely voluntary, where the obedience to the command lieth in the good will of

Reas. 2.

Mere voluntary deeds no man can stint them.

the giver, and not in the matter of the thing given, as Christ showeth in the example of the *widow's mite.* So that though there be an obligation upon *Christians* to minister of outward things to their ministers, yet there can be no definition of the quantity but by the giver's own consent, and a little from one may more truly fulfil the obligation than a great deal from another. And therefore as *acts of charity* and *hospitality* can neither be limited nor forced, so neither can this.

Object. If it be objected, *That ministers may and ought to exhort, persuade, yea, and earnestly press* Christians, *if they find them defective therein, to acts of charity and hospitality, and so may they do also to the giving of maintenance;*

Answ. I answer, All this saith nothing for a *stinted* and *forced maintenance*, for which there cannot so much as the show of one solid argument be brought from scripture. I confess *ministers* may use exhortation in this as much as in any other case, even as the apostle did to the *Corinthians*, showing them their duty; but it were fit for *ministers* that so do (that their testimony might have the more weight, and be the freer of all suspicion of covetousness and self-interest) that they might be able to say truly in the sight of God that which the same apostle subjoins upon the same occasion, 1 *Cor.* ix. 15, 16, 17, 18. *But I have used none of these things; neither have I written these things, that it should be so done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void. For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel. For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward; but if against my will, a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me, what is my reward then? Verily that when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel.*

Paul's labour was that the gospel might be without charge.

Thirdly, As there is neither precept nor example for this forced and stinted maintenance in the scripture, so the apostle, in his solemn farewell to the *pastors* and *elders* of the church of *Ephesus*, guards them against it, *Acts* xx. 33, 34, 35. But if the thing had been either lawful or practised, he would rather have exhorted them to be content with their stinted hire, and not to covet more; whereas he showeth them, first, by his own example, that they were not to *covet or expect any man's silver or gold*; secondly, that they ought to *work with their hands* for an honest livelihood, as he had done; and lastly, he exhorts them so to do from the words of Christ, *because it is a more blessed thing to give than to receive*; showing that it is so far from a thing that a true minister ought to aim at, or expect, that it is rather a burden to a true minister, and cross to him, to be reduced to the necessity of wanting it. Reas. 3. Paul coveted no body's silver or gold.

§. XXX. Fourthly, If a forced and stinted maintenance were to be supposed, it would make the ministers of Christ just one with those hirelings whom the prophets cried out against. For certainly if a man make a bargain to preach to people for so much a year, so as to refuse to preach unless he have it, and seek to force the people to give it by violence, it cannot be denied that such a one preacheth for hire, and so *looks for his gain from his quarter*, yea, and *prepares war against such as put not into his mouth*; but this is the particular special *mark* of a false prophet and an hireling, and therefore can no ways belong to a true minister of Christ. Reas. 4. No hireling fitting the gospel of Christ. Mic. iii. 5.

Next, that a superfluous maintenance, that is, more than in reason is needful, ought not to be received by Christian ministers, will not need much proof, seeing the more moderate and sober, both among *Papists* and *Protestants*, readily confess it, who with one voice exclaim against the *ex-* Moderate Protestants and Papists exclaim against the excess of the clergy's revenues

cessive revenues of the *clergy;* and that it may not want a proof from scripture, what can be more plain than that of the apostle to *Timothy?* 1 Tim. vi. 7, 8, 9, 10. where he both shows wherewith we ought to be content, and also the hazard of such as look after more; and indeed, since that very obligation of giving maintenance to a minister is founded upon their need, and such as have opportunity to work are commended rather in not receiving than in receiving, it can no ways be supposed lawful for them to receive more than is sufficient. And indeed, were they truly pious and right, though necessitous, they would rather incline to take too little, than be gaping after too much.

II. The excess of the priests and bishops' revenues.

§. XXXI. Now that there is great excess and abuse hereof among Christians, the vast revenues which the bishops and priests have, both *Papists* and *Protestants*, do declare; since I judge it may be said without any hyperbole, that some particular persons have more paid them yearly than Christ and his apostles made use of in their whole lifetime, who yet wanted not what was needful as to the outward man, and no doubt deserved it far better than those that enjoy that fulness. But it is manifest these *bishops* and *priests love their fat* benefices, *and the pleasure and honour that attends them, so well, that they purpose neither to follow Christ nor his apostles' example or advice in this matter.*

Object. But it is usually objected, That *Christians are become so hard-hearted, and generally so little heed spiritual things, that if ministers had not a settled and stinted maintenance secured them by law, they and their families might starve for want of bread.*

Answ. I answer, This objection might have some weight as to a carnal ministry, made up of natural men, who have no life, power, nor virtue with them, and so may insinuate some need of such

a maintenance for such a ministry; but it saith nothing as to such as are called and sent of God, *who sends no man a wayfaring upon his own charges;* and so go forth in the authority and power of God, to turn people from *darkness* to *light;* for such can trust to him that sendeth them, and do believe that he will provide for them, knowing that he requireth nothing of any but what he giveth power to perform; and so when they return, if he inquire, can say *they wanted nothing.* And such also when they stay in a place, being immediately furnished by God, and not needing to borrow and steal what they preach from books, and take up their time that way, fall a working at their lawful employments and labour with their hands, as *Paul* did when he gathered the church at *Corinth.* And indeed if this objection had any weight, the apostles and primitive pastors should never have gone forth to convert the nations, for fear of want. Doth not the doctrine of Christ teach us to venture all, and part with all, to serve God? Can they then be accounted ministers of Christ who are afraid to preach him lest they get not money for it, or will not do it until they be sure of their payment? What serves the ministry for but to perfect the saints, and so to convert them from that hard-heartedness?

They wanted nothing whom God sent; they laboured with their hands.

But thou wilt say, *I have laboured and preached to them, and they are hard-hearted still, and will not give me any thing:* Object.

Then surely thou hast either not been sent to them of God, and so thy ministry and preaching hath not been among them in the power, virtue, and life of Christ, and so thou deservest nothing; or else they have rejected thy testimony, and so are not worthy, and from such thou oughtest not to expect, yea, nor yet receive, any thing, if they would give thee, but thou oughtest to *shake off the dust from thy feet,* and leave them. And how frivolous this objection is, appears, in that in the Answ.

Mat. x. 14. If they reject thy testimony, shake the dust from off thy feet.

darkest and most superstitious times the *priests' revenues* increased most, and they were most richly rewarded, though they deserved least. So that he that is truly sent of God, as he needs not, so neither will he, be afraid of want, so long as he serves so good a master; neither will he ever forbear to do his work for that cause. And indeed such as make this objection show truly that they *serve not the Lord Christ*, but their own belly, and that makes them so anxious for want of food to it.

II. The many abuses priests' maintenance brings.

§. XXXII. But lastly, As to the *abuses* of this kind of maintenance, indeed he that would go through them all, though he did it passingly, might make of it alone a huge volume, they are so great and numerous. For this abuse, as others, crept in with the *apostacy*, there being nothing of this in the primitive times: then the ministers claimed no *tithes*, neither sought they a stinted or forced maintenance; but such as wanted had their necessity supplied by the church, and others wrought with their hands. But the persecutions being over, and the emperors and princes coming under the name of *Christians*, the zeal of those great men was quickly abused by the *covetousness* of the *clergy*, who soon learned to change their cottages with the palaces of princes, and rested not until by degrees some of them came to be princes themselves, nothing inferior to them in splendor, luxury, and magnificence; a method of living that honest *Peter* and *John* the *fishermen*, and *Paul* the *tent-maker*, never coveted; and perhaps as little imagined that men pretending to be their successors should have arrived to these things. And so soon as the bishops were thus seated and constituted, forgetting the life and work of a Christian, they went usually by the ears together about the precedency and revenues, each coveting the chiefest and fattest benefice. It is also

to be regretted to think how soon this mischief crept in among *Protestants*, who had scarce well appeared when the *clergy* among them began to speak at the old rate, and show that though they had forsaken the bishop of *Rome*, they were not resolved to part with their old *benefices;* and therefore so soon as any princes or states shook off the *Pope's* authority, and so demolished the *abbies*, *nunneries*, and other *monuments* of *superstition*, the reformed *clergy* began presently to cry out to the magistrates to beware of meddling with the church's *patrimony*, severely exclaiming against making a lawful use of those vast revenues that had been superstitiously bestowed upon the church, so called, to the good and benefit of the commonwealth, as no less than *sacrilege.*

The Protestants having forsaken the pope, yet would not forsake the rich popish revenues.

But by keeping up of this kind of maintenance for the *ministry* and *clergymen*, so called, there is first a bait laid for *covetousness*, *which is idolatry*, and of all things most hurtful; so that for *covetousness'* sake, many, being led by the desire of *filthy lucre*, do apply themselves to be ministers, that they may get a livelihood by it. If a man have several children, he will allot one of them to be a minister; which if he can get it to be, he reckons it as good as a patrimony: so that a fat benefice hath always many expectants; and then what bribing, what courting, what industry, and shameful actions are used to acquire these things, is too openly known, and needs not to be proved.

1. The clergy's covetousness.

The scandal that by these means is raised among Christians is so manifest, that it is become a proverb, that *the* kirk *is always* greedy. Whereby the gift and grace of God being neglected, they have for the most part no other motive or rule in applying themselves to one church more than another but the greater benefice. For though they

The greedy kirk, a proverb.

hypocritically pretend, at their accepting of and entering into their church, that they have nothing before them but the *glory of God* and the *salvation of souls;* yet if a richer benefice offer itself, they presently find it more for God's glory to remove from the first, and go thither. And thus they make no difficulty often to change, while notwithstanding they accuse us that we allow ministers to go from place to place, and not to be tied to one place; but we allow this not for the gaining of money, but as moved of God. For if a minister be called to minister in a particular place, he ought not to leave it, except God call him from it, and then he ought to obey: for we make *the will of God inwardly revealed*, and *not* the *love of money* and more *gain*, the *ground* of *removing*.

2. The clergy's luxury.

Secondly, From this abuse hath proceeded that *luxury* and *idleness* that most of the *clergy* live in, even among *Protestants* as well as *Papists*, to the great scandal of Christianity. For not having lawful trades to work with their hands, and being so superfluously and sumptuously provided for, they live in *idleness* and *luxury;* and there doth more *pride*, *vanity*, and *worldly glory* appear in their *wives* and *children* than in most others, which is open and evident to all.

3. The clergy's cruelty.

Thirdly, They become hereby so *glued* to the *love* of *money*, that there is none like them in *malice*, *rage*, and *cruelty*. If they be denied their hire, they rage like drunken men, fret, fume, and as it were go mad. A man may sooner satisfy the severest creditor than them; the general voice of the poor doth confirm this. For indeed they are far more exact in taking up the tithes of *sheep*, *geese*, *swine*, and *eggs*, *&c.* and look more narrowly to it than to the members of their flock: they will not miss the least mite;

and the poorest widow cannot escape their avaricious hands. Twenty lies they will hear unreproved; and as many oaths a man may swear in their hearing without offending them; and greater evils than all this they can overlook. But if thou owest them aught, and refusest to pay it, then nothing but war will they thunder against thee, and they will stigmatize thee with the horrible title of *sacrilege*, and send thee to hell without mercy, as if thou hadst committed the sin against the Holy Ghost. Of all people we can best bear witness to this; for God having shown us this corrupt and antichristian ministry, and called us out from it, and gathered us unto his own power and life, to be a *separate people*, so that we dare not join with, nor hear these antichristian hirelings, neither yet put into their mouths, or feed them; oh! what malice, envy, and fury hath this raised in their hearts against us! That though we get none of their wares, neither will buy them, as knowing them to be naught, yet will they force us to give them money: and because we cannot for conscience' sake do it, our sufferings upon that account have been unutterable. Yea, to give account of their cruelty, and several sorts of inhumanity used against us, would make no small history. These avaricious hirelings have come to that degree of malice and rage, that several poor labouring men have been carried hundreds of miles from their own dwellings, and shut up in prison, some two, some three, yea, some seven years together, for the value of one pound sterling, and less. I know myself a poor widow, that for the tithes of her *geese*, which amounted not to five shillings, was about four years kept in prison, thirty miles from her house. Yea, they by violence for this cause have plundered of men's goods the hundred-fold, and prejudiced as much more; yea, hundreds have

Poor widow's mite cannot escape the priests' greedy hands.

The work of Antichrist is fury, envy, malice.

A widow for the tithe of geese about four years in prison.

Some lost their lives in nasty holes, some wounded by the priests, &c.

hereby spilt their innocent blood, by dying in the *filthy noisome holes* and *prisons*. And some of the *priests* have been so enraged, that goods thus ravished could not satisfy them; but they must also satisfy their fury by beating, knocking, and wounding with their hands innocent men and women, for refusing (for conscience' sake) to put into their mouths.

Whoso heap teachers to themselves, let them provide their stipend.

The only way then soundly to reform and remove all these abuses, and take away the ground and occasion of them, is, to take away all *stinted* and *forced maintenance* and *stipends*. And whoever call or appoint teachers to themselves, let them accordingly entertain them: and for such as are called and moved to the *ministry* by the Spirit of God, those that receive them, and taste of the good of their *ministry*, will no doubt provide things needful for them, and there will be no need of a law to force a hire for them: for he that sends them, will take care for them; and they also, *having food and raiment*, will *therewith be content*.

The difference between the ministry of the Quakers and their adversaries.

§. XXXIII. The sum then of what is said is, That *the* ministry *that we have pleaded for, and which also the Lord hath raised up among us is, in all its parts, like the true* ministry *of the apostles and primitive church. Whereas the* ministry *our adversaries seek to uphold and plead for, as it doth in all its parts differ from them, so, on the other hand, it is very like the false prophets and teachers testified against and condemned in the scripture*, as may be thus briefly illustrated.

The true ministers' call.

I. The ministry and ministers we plead for, *are such as are immediately called and sent forth by Christ and his Spirit unto the work of the* ministry: so were the holy apostles and prophets, as appears by these places, *Mat.* x. 1, 5. *Eph.* iv. 11. *Heb.* v. 4.

1. But the ministry and ministers our opposers plead for, *are such as have no immediate call from*

Christ, to whom the leading and motion of the Spirit is not reckoned necessary; but who are called, sent forth, and ordained by wicked and ungodly men: such were of old the false prophets and teachers, as appears by these places, *Jer.* xiv. 14, 15. *item*, chap. xxiii. 21. and xxvii. 15.

II. The ministers we plead for, *are such as are actuated and led by God's spirit, and by the power and operation of his grace in their hearts, are in some measure converted and regenerate, and so are good, holy, and gracious men:* such were the holy prophets and apostles, as appears from 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. *Tit.* i. 7, 8, 9. True ministers' guide.

2. But the ministers our adversaries plead for, *are such to whom the grace of God is no needful qualification; and so may be true ministers, according to them, though they be ungodly, unholy, and profligate men:* such were the false prophets and apostles, as appears from *Mic.* iii. 5, 11. 1 *Tim.* vi. 5, 6, 7, 8, &c. 2 *Tim.* iii. 2. 2 *Pet.* ii. 1, 2, 3.

III. The ministers we plead for, *are such as act, move, and labour in the work of the ministry, not from their own mere natural strength and ability, but as they are actuated, moved, supported, assisted, and influenced by the Spirit of God, and minister according to the gift received, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God:* such were the holy prophets and apostles, 1 *Pet.* iv. 10, 11. 1 *Cor.* i. 17. ii. 3, 4, 5, 13. *Acts* ii. 4. *Mat.* x. 20. *Mark* xiii. 11. *Luke* xii. 12. 1 *Cor.* xiii. 2. True ministers' work.

3. But the ministers our adversaries plead for, *are such as wait not for, nor expect, nor need the Spirit of God to actuate and move them in the work of the ministry; but what they do they do from their own mere natural strength and ability, and what they have gathered and stolen from the letter of the scripture, and other books, and so speak it forth in the strength of their own wisdom and eloquence, and not in the evidence and demonstration of the Spirit and power:* such were the false

prophets and apostles, as appears, *Jer.* xxiii. 30, 31, 32, 34, &c. 1 *Cor.* iv. 18. *Jude* 16.

True ministers' humility.

IV. The ministers we plead for, *are such as, being holy and humble, contend not for precedency and priority, but rather strive to prefer one another, and serve one another in love; neither desire to be distinguished from the rest by their garments and large phylacteries, nor seek greetings in the market-places, nor the uppermost places at feasts, nor the chief seats in the synagogues; nor yet to be called of men* master, &c. such were the holy prophets and apostles, as appears from *Mat.* xxiii. 8, 9, 10. and xx. 25, 26, 27.

4. But the ministers our adversaries plead for, *are such as strive and contend for superiority, and claim precedency over one another; affecting and ambitiously seeking after the forementioned things:* such were the false prophets and apostles in time past, *Mat.* xxiii. 5, 6, 7.

True ministers' free gift.

V. The ministers we plead for, *are such as having freely received, freely give; who covet no man's silver, gold, or garments; who seek no man's goods, but seek them, and the salvation of their souls: whose hands supply their own necessities, working honestly for bread to themselves and their families. And, if at any time they be called of God, so as the work of the Lord hinder them from the use of their trades, take what is freely given them by such to whom they have communicated spirituals; and having food and raiment, are therewith content:* such were the holy prophets and apostles, as appears from *Mat.* x. 8. *Acts* xx. 33, 34, 35. 1 *Tim.* vi. 8.

5. But the ministers our adversaries plead for, *are such as not having freely received, will not freely give; but are covetous, doing that which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake; as to preach for hire, and divine for money, and look for their gain from their quarter, and prepare war against such as put not into their mouths, &c. Greedy dogs, which can never have enough. Shepherds who feed themselves, and not*

the flock; eating the fat, and clothing themselves with the wool; making merchandise of souls; and following the way of Balaam, that loved the wages of unrighteousness: such were the false prophets and apostles, *Isai.* lvi. 11. *Ezek.* xxxiv. 2, 3, 8. *Mic.* iii. 5, 11. *Tit.* i. 10, 11. 2 *Pet.* ii. 1, 2, 3, 14, 15.

True ministers' life and qualifications.

And in a word, We are for a holy, spiritual, pure, and living *ministry*, where the *ministers* are both called, qualified, and ordered, actuated and influenced, in all the *steps* of their *ministry* by the Spirit of God; which being wanting, *we judge* they cease to be the *ministers of Christ.*

But they, judging this *life*, *grace*, and *Spirit* no essential part of their *ministry*, are therefore for the upholding of an human, carnal, dry, barren, fruitless, and dead *ministry;* of which, alas! we have seen the fruits in the most part of their *churches:* of whom that saying of the Lord is certainly verified, *Jer.* xxiii. 32.—*I sent them not, nor commanded them, therefore they shall not profit this people at all, saith the LORD.*

PROPOSITION XI.

Concerning Worship.

What the true worship is, that is acceptable to God.

All true and acceptable *worship* to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, nor persons. For though we are to worship him always, and continually to fear before him; yet as to the outward signification thereof, in *prayers*, *praises*, or *preachings*, we ought not to do it in our own *will*, *where* and *when* we will; but *where* and *when* we are moved thereunto by the stirring and secret inspiration of the Spirit of God in our hearts; which God heareth and accepteth of, and is never wanting to move us thereunto, when need is; of which he himself is the alone proper judge. All other *worship* then, both *praises*, *prayers*, or *preachings*, which man sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone as himself seeth meet, whether they be a *prescribed form*, as a *liturgy*, &c. or *prayers* conceived *extempore* by the natural strength and faculty of the mind, they are all but *superstition*, *will-worship*, and *abominable idolatry* in the sight of God, which are now to be denied and rejected, and separated from, in this day of his spiritual arising: however it might have pleased him (*who winked at the times of ignorance*, with a respect to the simplicity and integrity of some, and of his own innocent *seed*, which lay as it were buried *in the hearts* of men under that mass of *superstition*) to *blow upon the dead and dry bones*, and to raise some breathings of his own, and answer them; and that until the *day* should more clearly *dawn* and *break forth*.

How to be performed.

Superstition and will-worship, idolatry.

§. 1. The *duty of man* towards God lieth chiefly in these two generals. 1. *In an holy conformity to the pure law and light of God, so as both to for-*

sake the evil, and be found in the practice of those perpetual and moral precepts of righteousness and equity. And 2. *In rendering that reverence, honour, and adoration to God, that he requires and demands of us;* which is comprehended under *worship.* Of the *former* we have already spoken, as also of the different relations of *Christians*, as they are distinguished by the several measures of grace received, and given to every one; and in that respect have their several offices in the *body of Christ*, which is the *church.* Now I come to speak of *worship*, or of those acts, whether private or public, general or particular, whereby man renders to God that part of his duty which relates immediately to him: and as *obedience is better than sacrifice*, so neither is any sacrifice *acceptable*, but that which is done according to the will of him to whom it is *offered.* But men, finding it easier to *sacrifice* in their own wills, than obey God's will, have heaped up *sacrifices* without *obedience;* and thinking to deceive God, as they do one another, give him a show of reverence, honour, and worship, while they are both inwardly estranged and alienated from his holy and righteous life, and wholly strangers to the pure breathings of his Spirit, in which the acceptable sacrifice and worship is only offered up. Hence it is, that there is not any thing relating to man's duty towards God, which among all sorts of people hath been more vitiated, and in which the devil hath more prevailed, than in abusing man's mind concerning this thing: and as among many others, so among those called *Christians*, nothing hath been more out of order, and more corrupted, as some *Papists*, and all *Protestants*, do acknowledge. As I freely approve whatsoever the *Protestants* have reformed from *Papists* in this respect; so I meddle not at this time with their controversies about it: only it suffices me with them to deny, as no part of the true worship of God, that abominable superstition and idolatry the *Popish mass*, the *adoration*

True worship and duty Godwards corrupted.

The Popish mass (idolatry) denied, with all their trumpery.

of saints and angels, the veneration of relics, the visitation of sepulchres, and all those other superstitious ceremonies, *confraternities*, and *endless pilgrimages* of the *Romish synagogue.* Which all may suffice to evince to *Protestants*, that *Antichrist* hath wrought more in this than in any other part of the *Christian religion;* and so it concerns them narrowly to consider, whether herein they have made a clear and perfect reformation; as to which stands the controversy betwixt them and us. For we find many of the branches lopt off by them, but the root yet remaining; to wit, a *worship* acted in and from man's will and spirit, and not by and from the Spirit of God: for the true *Christian* and *spiritual worship of God* hath been so early lost, and man's wisdom and will hath so quickly and thoroughly mixed itself herein, that both the *apostacy* in this respect hath been greatest, and the *reformation* herefrom, as to the evil root, most difficult. Therefore let not the *reader* suddenly stumble at the account of our *proposition* in this matter, but patiently hear us explain ourselves in this respect, & I hope (by the assistance of God) to make it appear, that though our manner of speaking and doctrine seem most singular and different from all other sorts of *Christians;* yet it is most according to the purest *Christian religion*, and indeed most needful to be observed and followed. And that there be no ground of mistake, (for that I was necessitated to speak in few words, and therefore more obscurely and dubiously in the *proposition* itself,) it is fit in the first place to declare and explain our sense, and clear the *state of the controversy.*

If Protestants have made a perfect reformation?

I. §. II. And first, let it be considered, that what is here affirmed, is spoken of the *worship of God* in these *gospel-times*, and not of the worship that was under or before the *law:* for the particular commands of God to men *then*, are not sufficient to authorize us *now* to do the same things; else we might be supposed at present acceptably to offer sacrifice as they

What worship here is spoken of.

did, which all acknowledge to be ceased. So that what might have been both commendable and acceptable under the *law*, may justly now be charged with superstition, yea, and idolatry. So that impertinently, in this respect, doth *Arnoldus* rage against this proposition, [*Exercit. Theolog.* sect. 44.] saying; *That I deny all public worship, and that according to me, such as in* Enoch's *time publicly began to call upon the name of the Lord; and such as at the command of God went thrice up to* Jerusalem *to worship; and that* Anna, Simeon, Mary, &c. *were idolaters, because they used the public worship of those times;* such a consequence is most impertinent, and no less foolish and absurd, than if I should infer from *Paul's* expostulating with the *Galatians* for their returning to the *Jewish ceremonies*, that he therefore condemned *Moses* and all the *prophets* as foolish and ignorant, because they used those things: the forward man, not heeding the different dispensation of times, ran into this impertinency. Though a spiritual worship might have been, and no doubt was practised by many under the *law* in great simplicity; yet will it not follow, that it were no superstition to use all those *ceremonies* that they used, which were by God dispensed to the *Jews*, not as being essential to *true worship*, or necessary as of themselves for transmitting and entertaining an *holy fellowship* betwixt him and his people; but in condescension to them, who were inclinable to idolatry. Albeit then in this, as in most other things, the substance was enjoyed under the *law* by such as were spiritual indeed; yet was it veiled and surrounded with many *rites* and *ceremonies*, which it is no ways lawful for us to use now under the *gospel*.

Ceremonies under the law were not essential to true worship.

§. III. Secondly; Albeit I say, that this *worship* is neither limited to times, places, nor persons; yet I would not be understood, as if I intended the putting away of all set times and places to worship: God forbid I should think of such an opinion. Nay,

II. True worship is not limited to place or person.

we are none of those that *forsake the assembling of ourselves* together; but have even certain times and places, in which we carefully meet together (nor can we be driven therefrom by the threats and persecutions of men) to *wait upon God*, and *worship him*.

Necessity of meetings.

To *meet together* we think necessary for the people of God; because, so long as we are clothed with this outward tabernacle, there is a necessity to the entertaining of a joint and visible fellowship, and bearing of an outward testimony for God, and seeing of the faces of one another, that we concur with our persons as well as spirits: to be accompanied with that inward love and unity of spirit, doth greatly tend to encourage and refresh the saints.

1. Will-worship doth limit the Spirit of God.

But the *limitation* we condemn is, that whereas the Spirit of God should be the immediate actor, mover, persuader, and influencer of man in the particular acts of worship, when the saints are met together, this Spirit is *limited* in its operations, by setting up a particular man or men to preach and pray in man's will; and all the rest are excluded from so much as believing that they are to wait for God's Spirit to move them in such things: and so they neglecting that in themselves which should quicken them, and not waiting to feel the pure breathings of God's Spirit, so as to obey them, are led merely to depend upon the preacher, & hear what he will say.

2. True teaching of the word of God.

Secondly; In that these peculiar men come not thither to meet with the Lord, and to wait for the inward motions and operations of his Spirit; and so to pray as they feel the Spirit to breathe *through* them, and *in* them; and to preach, as they find themselves actuated and moved by God's Spirit, and as he gives utterance, so as to speak a word in season to refresh weary souls, and as the present condition and state of the people's hearts require; suffering God by his Spirit both to prepare people's hearts, and also give the preacher to speak what may be fit and seasonable for them: but he (viz. *the preacher*)

hath hammered together in his closet, according to his own will, by his human wisdom and literature, and by stealing the words of truth from the letter of the scriptures, and patching together other men's writings and observations, so much as will hold him speaking an hour, while the glass runs; and without waiting or feeling the inward influence of the Spirit of God, he declaims that by hap-hazard, whether it be fit or seasonable for the people's condition, or not; and when he has ended his sermon, he saith his prayer also in his own will; and so *there is an end of the business.* Which *customary worship*, as it is no ways acceptable to God, so how unfruitful it is, and unprofitable to those that are found in it, the present condition of the nations doth sufficiently declare. It appears then, that we are not against *set times* for worship, as *Arnoldus* against this proposition, *Sect.* 45. no less impertinently allegeth; offering needlessly to prove that which is not denied: only these times being appointed for outward conveniency, we may not therefore think with the *Papists*, that these days are *holy*, and lead people into a superstitious observation of them; being persuaded that *all days are alike holy in the sight of God.* And although it be not my present purpose to make a long digression concerning the debates among *Protestants* about the *first day of the week*, commonly called the *Lord's day*, yet forasmuch as it comes fitly in here, I shall briefly signify our sense thereof.

Priests preach by hap-hazard their studied sermons.

Whether days are holy.

§. IV. We, not seeing any ground in scripture for it, cannot be so superstitious as to believe, that either the *Jewish sabbath* now continues, or that the *first day* of the *week* is the *anti-type* thereof, or the true *Christian sabbath;* which with *Calvin* we believe to have a more *spiritual sense:* and therefore we know no moral obligation by the *fourth command*, or elsewhere, to keep the *first day of the week* more than any other, or any holiness inherent in it. But first, forasmuch as it is necessary that there

Of the first day of the week commonly called the Lord's day.

be some time set apart for the saints to meet together to wait upon God; and that secondly, it is fit at some times they be freed from their other outward affairs; and that thirdly, reason and equity doth allow that servants and beasts have some time allowed them to be eased from their continual labour; and that fourthly, it appears that the apostles and primitive Christians did use the *first day of the week* for these purposes; we find ourselves sufficiently moved for these causes to do so also, without superstitiously straining the scriptures for another reason; which, that it is not to be there found, many *Protestants*, yea, *Calvin* himself, upon the *fourth command*, hath abundantly evinced. And though we therefore meet, and abstain from working upon this *day*, yet doth not that hinder us from having *meetings* also for *worship* at other times.

§. V. Thirdly; Though according to the knowledge of God, revealed unto us by the Spirit, through that more *full dispensation of light* which we believe the Lord hath brought about in this day, we judge it our duty to hold forth that pure and spiritual worship which is acceptable to God, and answerable to the testimony of Christ and his apostles, and likewise to testify against and deny not only manifest superstition and idolatry, but also all formal will-worship, which stands not in the power of God; yet, I say, we do not deny the whole worship of all those that have borne the name of *Christians* even in the apostacy, as if God had never heard their prayers, nor accepted any of them: God forbid we should be so void of charity! The latter part of the proposition showeth the contrary. And as we would not be so *absurd* on the one hand to conclude, because of the errors and darkness that many were covered and surrounded with in *Babylon*, that none of their prayers were heard or accepted of God, so will we not be so *unwary* on the other, as to conclude, that because God heard and pitied them, so we ought

The worship in the apostacy.

to continue in these errors and darkness, and not come out of *Babylon*, when it is by God discovered unto us. The *Popish mass* and *vespers* I do believe to be, as to the matter of them, *abominable idolatry* and *superstition*, and so also believe the *Protestants;* yet will neither *I* or *they* affirm, that in the darkness of *Popery* no upright-hearted men, though zealous in these abominations, have been heard of God, or accepted of him: Who can deny, but that both *Bernard* and *Bonaventure*, *Taulerus*, *Thomas à Kempis*, and divers others have both known and tasted of the love of God, and felt the power and virtue of God's Spirit working with them for their salvation? And yet ought we not to forsake and deny those superstitions which they were found in? The *Calvinistical Presbyterians* do much upbraid (and I say not without reason) the formality and deadness of the *Episcopalian* and *Lutheran liturgies;* and yet, as they will not deny but there have been some good men among them, so neither dare they refuse, but that when that good step was brought in by them, of turning the public prayers into the vulgar tongues, though continued in a *liturgy*, it was acceptable to God, and sometimes accompanied with his power and presence: yet will not the *Presbyterians* have it from thence concluded, that the *common prayers* should still continue; so likewise, though we should confess, that, through the mercy and wonderful condescension of God, there have been upright in heart, both among *Papists* and *Protestants*, yet can we not therefore approve of their way in the general, or not go on to the upholding of that *spiritual worship*, which the Lord is calling all too, and so to the testifying against whatsoever stands in the way of it.

The Popish mass and vespers.

Bernard & Bonaventure, Taulerus, Tho. à Kempis, have tasted of the love of God.

The bishops liturgy

§. VI. Fourthly; To come then to the *state of the controversy*, as to the *public worship*, we judge it the duty of all to be diligent in the assembling of themselves together, (and what we have been, and

Assemblies of worship in public described.

are, in this matter, our enemies in *Great Britain*, who have used all means to hinder our assembling together to worship God, may bear witness,) and when assembled, the great work of one and all ought to be to wait upon God; and returning out of their own thoughts and imaginations, to feel the Lord's presence, and know a *gathering into his name* indeed, where he is *in the midst*, according to his promise. And as every one is thus gathered, and so met together inwardly in their spirits, as well as outwardly in their persons, there the secret power and virtue of life is known to refresh the soul, and the pure motions and breathings of God's Spirit are felt to arise; from which, as words of declaration, prayers, or praises arise, the acceptable worship is known, which edifies the church, and is well-pleasing to God. And no man here limits the Spirit of God, nor bringeth forth his own conned and gathered stuff; but every one puts that forth which the Lord puts into their hearts: and it is uttered forth not in man's will and wisdom, but *in the evidence and demonstration of the Spirit, and of power*. Yea, though there be not a word spoken, yet is the true spiritual worship performed, and the body of Christ edified; yea, it may, and hath often fallen out among us, that divers meetings have passed without one word; and yet our souls have been greatly edified and refreshed, and our hearts wonderfully overcome with the secret sense of God's power and Spirit, which without words hath been ministered from one vessel to another. This is indeed strange and incredible to the mere natural and carnally-minded man, who will be apt to judge all time lost where there is not something spoken that is obvious to the outward senses; and therefore I shall insist a little upon this subject, as one that can speak from a certain experience, and not by mere hearsay, of this wonderful and

Its glorious dispensation.

glorious dispensation; which hath so much the more of the wisdom and glory of God in it, as it is contrary to the nature of man's spirit, will, and wisdom.

§. VII. As there can be nothing more opposite to the natural will and wisdom of man than this *silent waiting upon God*, so neither can it be obtained, nor rightly comprehended by man, but as he layeth down his own wisdom and will, so as to be content to be thoroughly subject to God. And therefore it was not preached, nor can be so practised, but by such as find no outward ceremony, no observations, no words, yea, not the best and purest words, even the words of scripture, able to satisfy their weary and afflicted souls: because where all these may be, the life, power, and virtue, which make such things effectual, may be wanting. Such, I say, were necessitated to cease from all externals, and to be silent before the Lord; and being directed to that inward principle of *life* and *light in* themselves, as the most excellent teacher, which *can never be removed into a corner*, came thereby to be taught to wait upon God in the measure of *life* and *grace* received from him, and to cease from their own forward words and actings, in the natural willing and comprehension, and feel after this inward seed of life, that, as it moveth, they may move with it, and be actuated by its power, and influenced, whether to pray, preach, or sing. And so from this principle of man's being silent, and not acting in the things of God of himself, until thus actuated by God's *light* and *grace in the heart*, did naturally spring that manner of sitting silent together, and waiting together upon the Lord. For many thus principled, meeting together in the pure fear of the Lord, did not apply themselves presently to speak, pray, or sing, &c. being afraid to be found acting forwardly in their

The silent waiting upon God obtained.

Isa. xxx.20.

own wills, but each made it their work to retire inwardly to the measure of grace in themselves, not being only silent as to words, but even abstaining from all their own thoughts, imaginations, and desires; so watching in a holy dependence upon the Lord, and meeting together not only outwardly in one place, but thus inwardly in *one Spirit* and in *one name of Jesus*, which is his power and virtue, they come thereby to enjoy and feel the arisings of this life, which, as it prevails in each particular, becomes as a flood of refreshment, and overspreads the whole meeting: for man, and man's part and wisdom, being denied and chained down in every individual, and God exalted, and his grace in dominion in the heart, thus his *name* comes to be *one* in *all*, and his glory breaks forth, and covers all; and there is such a holy awe and reverence upon every soul, that if the natural part should arise in any, or the wise part, or what is not one with the life, it would presently be chained down, and judged out. And when any are, through the breaking forth of this power, constrained to utter a sentence of exhortation or praise, or to breathe to the Lord in prayer, then all are sensible of it; for the same life *in* them answers to it, *as in water face answereth to face.* This is that *divine* and *spiritual worship*, which the world neither knoweth nor understandeth, which the *vulture's* eye seeth not into. Yet many and great are the advantages which my soul, with many others, hath tasted of hereby, and which would be found of all such as would seriously apply themselves hereunto: for, when people are gathered thus together, not merely to hear men, nor depend upon them, but *all are inwardly taught to stay their minds upon the Lord, and wait for his appearance in their hearts;* thereby the forward working of the spirit of man is stayed and hindered from mixing itself

What it is to meet in Jesus' name.

Prov. xxvii. 19.

Advantages of silent meetings.

Isa. x. 20. & xxvi. 3.

with the worship of God; and the form of this worship is so naked and void of all outward and worldly splendor, that all occasion for man's wisdom to be exercised in that superstition and idolatry hath no lodging here; and so there being also an inward quietness and retiredness of mind, the *witness of God* ariseth *in the heart*, and the *light of Christ* shineth, whereby the soul cometh to see its own condition. And there being many joined together in the same work, there is an inward travail and wrestling; and also, as the measure of grace is abode in, an overcoming of the power and spirit of darkness; and thus we are often greatly strengthened and renewed in the spirits of our minds without a word, and we enjoy and possess the *holy fellowship* and *communion of the body and blood of Christ*, by which our inward man is nourished and fed; which makes us not to dote upon outward *water*, and *bread* and *wine*, in our spiritual things. Now as many thus gathered together grow up in the strength, power, and virtue of truth, and as truth comes thus to have victory and dominion in their souls, then they receive an utterance, and speak steadily to the edification of their brethren, and the *pure life* hath a free passage through them, and what is thus spoken edifieth the body indeed. Such is the evident certainty of that divine strength that is communicated by thus meeting together, and waiting in silence upon God, that sometimes when one hath come in that hath been unwatchful and wandering in his mind, or suddenly out of the hurry of outward business, and so not inwardly gathered with the rest, so soon as he retires himself inwardly, this power being in a good measure raised in the whole meeting, will suddenly lay hold upon his spirit, and wonderfully help to raise up the good in him, and beget him into the sense of the

Eph. iv. 3.

Speaking to edification.

same power, to the melting and warming of his heart; even as the warmth would take hold upon a man that is cold coming in to a stove, or as a flame will lay hold upon some little combustible matter being near unto it. Yea, if it fall out that several met together be straying in their minds, though outwardly silent, and so wandering from the measure of grace in themselves, (which through the working of the enemy, and negligence of some, may fall out,) if either one come in, or may be in, who is watchful, and in whom the *life* is raised in a great measure, as that one keeps his place, he will feel a secret travail for the rest in a sympathy with the *seed* which is oppressed in the other, and kept from arising by their thoughts and wanderings; and as such a faithful one waits in the *light*, and keeps in this *divine work*, God oftentimes answers the secret travail and breathings of his own *seed* through such a one, so that the rest will find themselves *secretly smitten* without words, and that one will be as a *midwife* through the secret travails of his soul to bring forth the life in them, just as a little water thrown into a pump brings up the rest, whereby life will come to be raised in all, and the vain imaginations brought down; and such a one is felt by the rest to minister life unto them without words. Yea, sometimes, when there is not a word in the meeting, but all are silently waiting, if one come in that is rude and wicked, and in whom the power of darkness prevaileth much, perhaps with an intention to mock or do mischief, if the whole meeting be gathered into the *life*, and it be raised in a good measure, it will strike terror into such an one, and he will feel himself unable to resist; but by the secret strength and virtue thereof, the power of darkness in him will be chained down: and if the day of his visitation be not expired, it will reach to the measure of grace in him, and raise it

A secret travail one for another in silent meetings.

The mocker struck with terror when no word is spoken.

up to the redeeming of his soul. And this we often bear witness of, so that we have had frequent occasion in this respect, since God hath gathered us to be a people, to renew this old saying of many, *Is* Saul *also among the prophets?* For not a few have come to be convinced of the truth after this manner, of which I myself, in part, am a true witness, who not by strength of arguments, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and convincement of my understanding thereby, came to receive and bear witness of the truth, but by being secretly reached by this *life;* for when I came into the *silent assemblies* of God's people, I felt a *secret power* among them, which touched my heart, and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up, and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might feel myself perfectly redeemed. And indeed this is the surest way to become a *Christian*, to whom afterwards the knowledge and understanding of *principles* will not be wanting, but will grow up so much as is needful, as the natural fruit of this good root, and such a knowledge will not be *barren* nor *unfruitful.* After this manner we desire therefore all that come among us to be proselyted, knowing that though thousands should be convinced in their understanding of all the *truths* we maintain, yet if they were not sensible of this *inward life*, and their souls not changed from unrighteousness to righteousness, they could add nothing to us. For this is that *cement* whereby we are joined *as to the Lord*, so to one another, and without this none can worship with us. Yea, if such should come among us, and from that understanding and convincement they have of the *truth*, speak ever so true things, and utter them forth with ever so much excellency of speech, if

1 Sam. x. 12.

The true convincement.

1 Cor. vi. 17. The life of righteousness doth join us to the Lord.

this *life* were wanting, it would not edify us at all, but be as *sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal*, 1 Cor. xiii. 1.

Our work and worship in our meetings.

§. VIII. Our *work* then and *worship* is, when we meet together, for every one to *watch and wait upon God in themselves*, and to be *gathered* from all visibles thereunto. And as every one is thus stated, they come to find the *good* arise over the *evil*, and the *pure* over the *impure*, in which God reveals himself, and draweth near to every individual, and so he is in the midst in the general, whereby each not only partakes of the particular refreshment and strength which comes from the good in himself, but is a sharer in the whole body, as being a living member of the body, having a joint fellowship and communion with all. And as this worship is stedfastly preached and kept to, it becomes easy, though it be very hard at first to the natural man, whose roving imaginations and running worldly desires are not so easily brought to silence. And therefore the Lord oftentimes, when any turn towards him, and have true desires thus to wait upon him, and find great difficulty through the unstaidness of their minds, doth in condescension and compassion cause his power to break forth in a more strong and powerful manner. And when the mind sinks down, and waits for the appearance of *life*, and that the power of darkness in the soul wrestles and works against it, then the good seed, as it ariseth, will be found to work as physic in the soul, especially if such a weak one be in the assembly of divers others in whom the life is arisen in greater dominion, and through the contrary workings of the power of darkness there will be found an inward striving in the soul as really in the mystery as ever *Esau* and *Jacob* strove in *Rebecca's* womb. And from this inward travail, while the *darkness* seeks to obscure the *light*, and the *light* breaks through the *darkness*, which

Esau and Jacob strove in Rebecca's womb.

it always will do, if the soul gives not its strength to the darkness, there will be such a painful travail found in the soul, that will even work upon the outward man, so that oftentimes, through the working thereof, the body will be greatly shaken, and many groans, and sighs, and tears, even as the pangs of a woman in travail, will lay hold upon it; yea, and this not only as to one, but when the enemy, who when the *children of God* assemble together is not wanting to be present, to see if he can let their comfort, hath prevailed in any measure in a whole meeting, and strongly worketh against it by spreading and propagating his dark power, and by drawing out the minds of such as are met from the life in them, as they come to be sensible of this power of his that works against them, and to wrestle with it by the *armour of light*, sometimes the power of God will break forth into a whole meeting, and there will be such an inward travail, while each is seeking to overcome the evil in themselves, that by the strong contrary workings of these opposite powers, like the going of two contrary tides, every individual will be strongly exercised as in a day of battle, and thereby trembling and a motion of body will be upon most, if not upon all, which, as the power of truth prevails, will from pangs and groans end with a *sweet sound of thanksgiving* and *praise*. And from this the name of *Quakers*, i. e. *Tremblers*, was first reproachfully cast upon us; which, though it be none of our choosing, yet in this respect we are not ashamed of it, but have rather reason to rejoice therefore, even that we are sensible of this power that hath oftentimes laid hold of our adversaries, and made them yield unto us, and join with us, and confess to the truth, before they had any distinct or discursive knowledge of our *doctrines*, so that sometimes many at one meeting have been thus convinced: and this power would sometimes also reach to and wonderfully

The travail crowned with a victorious song.

The name of Quakers whence it sprung.

work even in little children, to the admiration and astonishment of many.

Yet silence is no law, but words may follow.

§. IX. Many are the blessed experiences which I could relate of this *silence* and manner of *worship;* yet I do not so much commend and speak of *silence* as if we had bound ourselves by any law to exclude *praying* or *preaching*, or tied ourselves thereunto, not at all: for as our *worship* consisteth not in *words*, so neither in *silence*, as *silence;* but *in an holy dependence of the mind upon God:* from which dependence *silence* necessarily follows in the first place, until *words* can be brought forth, which are from God's Spirit. And God is not wanting to move in his *children* to bring forth words of exhortation or prayer, when it is needful; so that of the many gatherings and meetings of such as are convinced of the truth, there is scarce any in whom God raiseth not up some or other to minister to his brethren; and there are few meetings that are altogether *silent*. For when many are met together in this one life and name, it doth most naturally and frequently excite them to *pray to* and *praise God*, and stir up one another by mutual exhortation and instructions; yet we judge it needful there be in the first place some time of *silence*, during which every one may be gathered *inward* to the word and gift of grace, from which he that ministereth may receive strength to bring forth what he ministereth; and that they that hear may have a sense to discern betwixt the *precious* and the *vile*, and not to hurry into the exercise of these things so soon as the bell rings, as other *Christians* do. Yea, and we doubt not, but assuredly know, that the meeting may be good and refreshful, though from the sitting down to the rising up thereof there hath not been a word as outwardly spoken, and yet *life* may have been known to abound in each particular, and an inward growing up therein and thereby, yea, so as words might have been spoken acceptably, and from the life: yet there being no

No absolute necessity for words, though from the life at times.

absolute necessity laid upon any so to do, all might have chosen rather *quietly* and *silently* to possess and enjoy the Lord in themselves, which is very sweet and comfortable to the soul that hath thus learned to be gathered out of all its own thoughts and workings, to feel the Lord to bring forth both the will and the deed, which many can declare by a blessed experience: though indeed it cannot but be hard for the natural man to receive or believe this *doctrine*, and therefore it must be rather by a sensible experience, and by coming to make proof of it, than by arguments, that such can be convinced of this thing, seeing it is not enough to *believe* it, if they come not also to *enjoy* and *possess* it; yet in condescension to, and for the sake of, such as may be the more willing to apply themselves to the practice and experience hereof, if they found their understandings convinced of it, and that it is founded upon scripture and reason, I find a freedom of mind to add some few considerations of this kind, for the confirmation hereof, besides what is before mentioned of our experience.

To wait & watch commanded in the scripture.

§ X. That *to wait upon God*, and *to watch before him*, is a duty incumbent upon all, I suppose none will deny; and that this also is *a part of worship* will not be called in question, since there is scarce any other so frequently commanded in the holy scriptures, as may appear from *Psalm* xxvii. 14. and xxxvii. 7, 34. *Prov.* xx. 22. *Isai.* xxx. 18. *Hosea* xii. 6. *Zech.* iii. 8. *Mat.* xxiv. 42. and xxv. 13. and xxvi. 41. *Mark* xiii. 33, 35, 37. *Luke* xxi. 36. *Acts* i. 4. and xx. 31. 1 *Cor.* xvi. 13. *Col.* iv. 2. 1 *Thes.* v. 6. 2 *Tim.* iv. 5. 1 *Pet.* iv. 7. Also this duty is often recommended with very great and precious promises, as *Psalm* xxv. 3. and xxxvii. 9. and lxix. 6. *Isai.* xlii. 23. *Lam.* iii. 25, 26. *They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, &c. Isai.* xl. 31. Now how is this *waiting upon God*, or *watching before him*, but by this *silence* of which

we have spoken? Which as it is in itself a *great* and *principal* duty, so it necessarily in order both of *nature* and *time* precedeth all other. But that it may be the better and more perfectly understood, as it is not only an *outward silence* of the body, but an *inward silence* of the mind from all its own imaginations and self-cogitations, let it be considered according to *truth*, and to the *principles* and *doctrines* heretofore affirmed and proved, that man is to be considered in a twofold respect, to wit, in his *natural, unregenerate, and fallen state*, and in his *spiritual and renewed condition;* from whence ariseth that distinction of the *natural* and *spiritual man* so much used by the apostle, and heretofore spoken of. Also these *two births* of the mind proceed from the *two seeds* in man respectively, to wit, the *good seed* and the *evil;* and from the *evil seed* doth not only proceed all manner of gross and abominable wickedness and profanity, but also hypocrisy, and those *wickednesses* which the scripture calls *spiritual*, because it is the *serpent* working in and by the natural man in things that are *spiritual*, which having a show and appearance of good, are so much the more hurtful and dangerous, as it is *Satan transformed* and *transforming himself into an angel of light;* and therefore doth the scripture so pressingly and frequently, as we have heretofore had *occasion* to observe, shut out and exclude the natural man from meddling with the *things of God*, denying his endeavours therein, though acted and performed by the most eminent of his parts, as of wisdom & utterance.

Whence wickednesses arise that are spiritual.

Also this *spiritual wickedness* is of two sorts, though both one in kind, as proceeding from one root, yet differing in their degrees, and in the subjects also sometimes. The one is, when as the natural man, meddling with and working in the things of *religion*, doth from his own conceptions and divinations affirm or propose wrong and erroneous notions and opinions of God and things spiritual;

and invent superstitions, ceremonies, observations, and rites in worship, from whence have sprung all the heresies and superstitions that are among *Christians*. The other is, when as the natural man, from a mere conviction of his understanding, doth in the forwardness of his own will, and by his own natural strength, without the influence and leading of God's Spirit, go about either in his understanding to imagine, conceive, or think of the things of God, or actually to perform them by preaching or praying. The first is a missing both in matter and form; the second is a retaining of the form without the life and substance of *Christianity*; because *Christian religion* consisteth not in a mere belief of true *doctrines*, or a mere performance of *acts* good in themselves, or else the bare letter of the scripture, though spoken by a *drunkard*, or a *devil*, might be said to be *spirit* and *life*, which I judge none will be so absurd as to affirm; and also it would follow, that where the form of godliness is, there the power is also, which is contrary to the express words of the apostle. For the form of godliness cannot be said to be, where either the notions and opinions believed are erroneous and ungodly, or the acts performed evil and wicked; for then it would be the form of ungodliness, and not of godliness: but of this more hereafter, when we shall speak particularly of preaching and praying. Now though this last be not so bad as the former, yet it hath made way for it; for men having first departed from the life and substance of true *religion* and *worship*, to wit, from the inward power and virtue of the Spirit, so as therein to act, and thereby to have all their actions enlivened, have only retained the form and show, to wit, the true words and appearance; and so acting in their own natural and unrenewed wills in this form, the form could not but quickly decay, and be vitiated. For the working and active spirit of man could not contain itself within the simplicity and

From whence all heresies did spring.

True Christianity, wherein it consists not.

plainness of truth, but giving way to his own numerous inventions and imaginations, began to vary in the form, and adapt it to his own inventions, until by degrees the form of godliness for the most part came to be lost, as well as the power. For this kind of *idolatry*, whereby man loveth, idolizeth, and embraceth his own conceptions, inventions, and product of his own brain, is so incident unto him, and seated in his fallen nature, that so long as his natural spirit is the first author and actor of him, and is that by which he only is guided and moved in his worship towards God, so as not first to wait for another guide to direct him, he can never perform the pure spiritual worship, nor bring forth any thing but the fruit of the first, fallen, natural, and corrupt root. Wherefore the time appointed of God being come, wherein by *Jesus Christ* he hath been pleased to restore the true *spiritual worship*, and the outward form of *worship*, which was appointed by God to the *Jews*, and whereof the manner and time of its performance was particularly determined by God himself, being come to an end, we find that *Jesus Christ*, the author of the *Christian religion*, prescribes no *set form of worship* to his children, under the more pure administration of the *new covenant*,*

Idolatry does hug its own conceivings.

No form of worship but the Spirit prescribed by Christ.

*If any object here, *That the Lord's Prayer is a prescribed form of prayer, and therefore of* Worship *given by Christ to his children:*

I answer, First, This cannot be objected by any sort of *Christians* that I know, because there are none who use not other prayers, or that limit their worship to this. Secondly, This was commanded to the disciples, while yet weak, before they had received the dispensation of the gospel; not that they should only use it in praying, but that he might show them by one example how that their prayers ought to be short, and not like the long prayers of the Pharisees. And that this was the use of it, appears by all their pruyers, which divers saints afterwards made use of, whereof the scripture makes mention; for none made use of this, neither repeated it, but used other words, according as the thing required, and as the Spirit gave utterance. Thirdly, That this ought to be so understood, appears from *Rom.* viii. 26. of which afterwards mention shall be made at greater length, where the apostle saith, *We know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, &c.* But if this prayer had been such a prescribed form of prayer to the *church*, that had not been true, neither had they been ignorant what to pray, nor should they have needed the help of the Spirit to teach them.

save that he only tells them, That the *worship now to be performed* is *spiritual*, and *in the Spirit*. And it is especially to be observed, that in the whole *New-Testament* there is no order nor command given in this thing, but to follow the revelation of the Spirit, save only that general one of *meeting together;* a thing dearly owned and diligently practised by us, as shall hereafter more appear. True it is, mention is made of the duties of *praying*, *preaching*, and *singing;* but what order or method should be kept in so doing, or that presently they should be set about so soon as the saints are gathered, there is not one word to be found: yea, these duties, as shall afterwards be made appear, are always annexed to the assistance, leadings, and motions of God's Spirit. Since then man in his natural state is thus excluded from acting or moving in things *spiritual*, how or what way shall he exercise this first and previous duty of *waiting upon God* but by *silence*, and by bringing that natural part to *silence?* Which is no other ways but by abstaining from his own thoughts and imaginations, and from all the self-workings and motions of his own mind, as well in things materially *good* as *evil;* that he being *silent*, God may *speak in him*, and the *good seed* may arise. This, though hard to the natural man, is so answerable to reason, and even natural experience in other things, that it cannot be denied. He that cometh to learn of a master, if he expect to hear his master and be instructed by him, must not continually be speaking of the matter to be taught, and never be quiet, otherwise how shall his master have time to instruct him? Yea, though the scholar were never so earnest to learn the *science*, yet would the master have reason to reprove him, as untoward and indocile, if he would always be meddling of himself, and still speaking, and not wait in silence patiently to hear his master instructing and teaching him, who ought not to open his mouth until by his master he were

Pray, preach, & sing in Spirit.

To wait on God, by what it is performed.

A simile of a master and his scholar.

commanded and allowed so to do. So also if one were about to attend a great prince, he would be thought an impertinent and imprudent servant, who, while he ought patiently and readily to wait, that he might answer the king when he speaks, and have his eye upon him to observe the least motions and inclinations of his will, and to do accordingly, would be still deafening him with discourse, though it were in praises of him; and running to and fro, without any particular and immediate order, to do things that perhaps might be good in themselves, or might have been commanded at other times to others. Would the kings of the earth accept of such servants or service? Since then we are commanded to *wait upon God diligently*, and in so doing it is promised that our *strength shall be renewed*, this *waiting* cannot be performed but by a *silence* or *cessation* of the natural part on our side, since God manifests himself not to the outward man or senses, so much as to the inward, to wit, to the soul and spirit. If the soul be still thinking and working in her own will, and busily exercised in her own imaginations, though the matters as in themselves may be *good* concerning God, yet thereby she incapacitates herself from discerning the *still, small voice* of the Spirit, and so hurts herself greatly, in that she neglects her chief business of *waiting upon the Lord:* nothing less than if I should busy myself, crying out and speaking of a business, while in the mean time I neglect to hear one who is quietly whispering into my ear, and informing me in those things which are most needful for me to hear and know concerning that business. And since it is the chief work of a *Christian* to know the *natural will* in its own proper motions *crucified*, that God may both move in the act and in the will, the Lord chiefly regards this profound subjection and self-denial. For some men

Of a prince & his servant.

To wait in silence.

The thinking busy soul excludes the voice of God.

please themselves as much, and gratify their own sensual wills and humours in high and curious *speculations* of *religion*, affecting a name and reputation that way, or because those things by custom or otherways are become pleasant and habitual to them, though not a whit more regenerated or inwardly sanctified in their spirits, as others gratify their lusts in *acts* of *sensuality*, and therefore both are alike hurtful to men, and sinful in the sight of God, it being nothing but the mere fruit and effect of man's natural and unrenewed will and spirit. Yea, should one, as many no doubt do, from a sense of sin, and fear of punishment, seek to terrify themselves from sin, by multiplying thoughts of death, hell, and judgment, and by presenting to their imaginations the happiness and joys of heaven, and also by multiplying prayers and other religious performances, as these things could never deliver him from one iniquity, without the secret and inward power of God's Spirit and grace, so would they signify no more than the *fig-leaves* wherewith *Adam* thought to cover his *nakedness*. And seeing it is only the product of man's own natural will, proceeding from a self-love, and seeking to save himself, and not arising purely from that *divine seed of righteousness* which is given of God to all for grace and salvation, it is rejected of God, and no ways acceptable unto him; since the natural man, as natural, while he stands in that state, is, with all his arts, parts, and actings, reprobated by him. This great duty then of waiting upon God, must needs be exercised in man's denying self, both inwardly and outwardly, in a still and mere dependence upon God, in abstracting from all the workings, imaginations, and speculations of his own mind, that being emptied as it were of himself, and so thoroughly crucified to the natural products thereof, he may be fit to receive the Lord,

Religious speculations.

Sensual recreations.

Thoughts of death and hell to keep out sin are fig-leaves.

Denial of one's self.

who will have no co-partner nor co-rival of his glory and power. And man being thus stated, the little seed of righteousness which God hath planted in his soul, and christ hath purchased for him, even the measure of *grace* and *life*, which is burdened and crucified by man's natural *thoughts* and *imaginations*, receives a place to arise, and becometh a holy birth and geniture *in* man; and is that *divine air* in and by which man's soul and spirit comes to be leavened; and by waiting therein he comes to be accepted in the sight of God, to stand in his presence, hear his voice, and observe the motions of his holy Spirit. And so man's place is to wait in this; and as hereby there are any objects presented to his mind concerning God, or things relating to religion, his soul may be exercised in them without hurt, and to the great profit both of himself and others; because those things have their rise not from his own will, but from God's Spirit: and therefore as in the arisings and movings of this his mind is still to be exercised in thinking and meditating, so also in the more obvious acts of preaching and praying. And so it may hence appear we are not against meditation, as some have sought falsely to infer from our doctrine; but we are against the *thoughts* and *imaginations* of the natural man in his own will, from which all errors and heresies concerning the Christian religion in the whole world have proceeded. But if it please God at any time, when one or more are waiting upon him, not to present such objects as give them occasion to exercise their minds in *thoughts* and *imaginations*, but purely to keep them in this holy dependence, and as they persist therein, to cause the secret refreshment and the pure incomes of his holy life to flow in upon them, then they have good reason to be content, because by this, as we know by good and blessed expe-

The holy birth.

No Quakers are against a meditating mind. From nature's thoughts all errors rise.

rience, the soul is more strengthened, renewed, and confirmed in the love of God, and armed against the power of sin, than any way else; this being a fore-taste of that real and sensible enjoyment of God, which the saints in heaven daily possess, which God frequently affords to his children here for their comfort and encouragement, especially when they are assembled together to *wait upon him.*

The soul renewed, by what? The holy life of God.

§. XI. For there are *two contrary powers* or *spirits*, to wit, the *power* and *spirit of this world*, in which the prince of darkness bears rule, and over as many as are acted by it, and work from it; and the *power* or *Spirit of God*, in which God worketh and beareth rule, and over as many as act in and from it. So whatever be the things that a man thinketh of, or acteth in, however *spiritual* or *religious* as to the notion or form of them, so long as he acteth and moveth in the natural and corrupt spirit and will, and not from, in, and by the power of God, he sinneth in all, and is not accepted of God. For hence both the *ploughing* and praying *of the wicked is sin;* as also whatever a man acts in and from the Spirit and power of God, having his understanding and will influenced and moved by it, whether it be actions *religious*, *civil*, or even *natural*, he is accepted in so doing in the sight of God, and is *blessed in them.* From what is said it doth appear how frivolous and impertinent their *objection* is, that say they *wait upon God in praying and preaching*, since *waiting* does of itself imply a *passive dependence*, rather than an *acting*. And since it is, and shall yet be more shown, that *preaching* and *praying* without the Spirit is an offending of God, not a waiting upon him, and that *praying* and *preaching* by the Spirit pre-supposes necessarily a *silent waiting* to feel the motions and influence of the Spirit to lead thereunto; and lastly, that in several of these places where praying is command-

Whatever man does act without the power of God is not accepted.

Prov. xxi. 4.

Ja. i. 25.

To pray and preach without the Spirit is offence to God.

ed, as *Mat.* xxvi. 41. *Mark* xiii. 33. *Luke* xxi. 36. 1 *Peter* iv. 7. watching is specially prefixed as a previous preparation thereunto; we do well and certainly conclude, that since *waiting* and *watching* are so particularly commanded and recommended, and cannot be truly performed but in this *inward silence* of the mind from men's own thoughts and imaginations, this *silence* is and must necessarily be a special and principal part of *God's worship*.

II. This silent waiting the devil cannot counterfeit.

§. XII. But secondly, the *excellency* of this *silent waiting upon God* doth appear, in that it is impossible for the *enemy*, viz. the *devil*, to counterfeit it, so as for any soul to be deceived or deluded by him in the exercise thereof. Now in all other matters he may mix himself with the natural mind of man, and so by *transforming* himself he may deceive the soul, by busying it about things perhaps innocent in themselves, while yet he keeps them from beholding the *pure light of Christ*, and so from knowing distinctly their duty, and doing of it. For that envious Spirit of man's eternal happiness knoweth well how to accommodate himself, and fit his snares for all the several dispositions and inclinations of men; if he find one not fit to be engaged with gross sins, or worldly lusts, but rather averse from them, and religiously inclined, he can fit himself to beguile such a one, by suffering his thoughts and imaginations to run upon *spiritual matters*, and so hurry him to work, act, and meditate in his own will. For he well knoweth that so long as *self* bears rule, and the *Spirit of God* is not the principal and chief actor, man is not put out of his reach; so therefore he can accompany the *priest* to the *altar*, the *preacher* to the *pulpit*, the *zealot* to his *prayers*, yea, the *doctor* and *professor of divinity* to his *study*, and there he can cheerfully suffer him to labour and work among his books, yea, and help him to find out and invent sub-

Altar, prayers, pulpit, study, cannot shut the devil out.

tile distinctions and quiddities, by which both his mind, and others through him, may be kept from heeding *God's light in the conscience*, and waiting upon him. There is not any exercise whatsoever, wherein he cannot enter, and have a chief place, so as the soul many times cannot discern it, except in this alone: for he can only work in and by the natural man, and his faculties, by secretly acting upon his imaginations and desires, &c. and therefore, when he (to wit, the natural man) is silent, there he must also stand. And therefore, when the soul comes to this *silence*, and as it were is brought to nothingness, as to her own workings, then the devil is shut out; for the *pure presence of God* and *shining* of his *Light* he cannot abide, because so long as a man is thinking and meditating as of himself, he cannot be sure but the devil is influencing him therein; but when he comes wholly to be silent, as the *pure Light* of *God* shines in upon him, then he is sure that the devil is shut out; for beyond the imaginations he cannot go, which we often find by sensible experience. For he that of old is said to have come to the *gathering together* of the *children of God*, is not wanting to come to our *assemblies*. And indeed he can well enter and work in a meeting, that is silent only as to words, either by keeping the minds in various thoughts and imaginations, or by stupifying them, so as to overwhelm them with a spirit of heaviness and slothfulness: but when we retire out of all, and are turned in, both by being *diligent* and *watchful* upon the one hand, and also *silent* and *retired* out of all our thoughts upon the other, as we abide in this sure place, we feel ourselves out of his reach. Yea, oftentimes the *power* and *glory* of God will break forth and appear, just as the bright sun through many clouds and mists, to the dispelling of that power of darkness; which will also be sensibly felt, seeking to cloud and

darken the mind, and wholly to keep it from *purely waiting* upon God.

III. The worship of the Quakers not stopt or interrupted by men or devils.

§. XIII. Thirdly, The *excellency* of this *worship* doth appear, in that it can neither be stopt nor interrupted by the malice of men or devils, as all others can. Now interruptions and stoppings of worship may be understood in a twofold respect, either as we are hindered from *meeting*, as being outwardly by violence separated one from another; or when permitted to *meet together*, as we are interrupted by the tumult, noise, and confusion which such as are malicious may use to molest or distract us. Now in both these respects, this *worship* doth greatly overpass all others: for how far soever people be separate or hindered from coming together, yet as every one is inwardly gathered to the measure of *life* in himself, there is a secret unity and fellowship enjoyed, which the devil and all his instruments can never break or hinder. But, secondly, It doth as well appear, as to those molestations which occur, when we are met together, what advantage this *true* and *spiritual worship* gives us beyond all others; seeing in despite of a thousand interruptions and abuses, one of which were sufficient to have stopt all other sorts of *Christians*, we have been able, through the nature of this *worship*, to keep it uninterrupted as to God, and also at the same time to show forth an example of our *Christian patience* towards all, even oftentimes to the reaching and convincing of our opposers. For there is no sort of worship used by others which can subsist (though they be permitted to meet) unless they be either authorised and protected by the magistrate, or defend themselves with the arm of flesh: but we at the same time exercise worship towards God, and also patiently bear the reproaches and ignominies which *Christ prophesied* should be so incident and frequent to

Christians. For how can the *Papists* say their *mass*, if there be any there to disturb and interrupt them? Do but take away the *mass-book*, the *chalice*, the *host*, or the *priest's garments*, yea, do but spill the *water*, or the *wine*, or blow out the *candles*, (a thing quickly done,) and the whole business is marred, and no sacrifice can be offered. Take from the *Lutherans* or *Episcopalians* their *Liturgy* or *Common-Prayer-Book*, and no service can be said. Remove from the *Calvinists*, *Arminians*, *Socinians*, *Independents*, or *Anabaptists*, the *pulpit*, the *bible*, and the *hour-glass*, or make but such a noise as the voice of the *preacher* cannot be heard, or disturb him but so before he come, or strip him of his *bible* or his *books*, and he must be dumb: for they all think it an heresy to wait to speak as the Spirit of God giveth utterance; and thus easily their whole worship may be marred. But when people meet together, and their worship consisteth not in such outward acts, and they depend not upon any one's speaking, but merely sit down to wait upon God, and to be gathered out of all visibles, and to feel the Lord in Spirit, none of these things can hinder them, of which we may say of a truth, *We are sensible witnesses*. For when the *magistrates*, stirred up by the malice and envy of our opposers, have used all means possible (and yet in vain) to deter us from meeting together, and that openly and publicly in our own hired houses for that purpose, both death, banishments, imprisonments, finings, beatings, whippings, and other such devilish inventions, have proved ineffectual to terrify us from our *holy assemblies*. And we having, I say, thus oftentimes purchased our liberty to meet, by *deep sufferings*, our opposers have then taken another way, by turning in upon us the worst and wickedest people, yea, the very off-scourings of men, who by all manner of *inhuman*, *beastly*, and *brutish behaviour*, have

The worship of the Papists soon interrupted.

The Protestants the like, and Anabaptists.

The sufferings of the Quakers for their religious meetings.

sought to provoke us, weary us, and molest us, but in vain. It would be almost incredible to declare, and indeed a shame, that among men pretending to be *Christians*, it should be mentioned, what things of this kind men's eyes have seen, and I myself, with others, have shared of in suffering! There they have often beaten us, and cast water and dirt upon us; there they have danced, leaped, sung, and spoken all manner of profane and ungodly words; offered violence and shameful behaviour to grave women and virgins; jeered, mocked, and scoffed, asking us, *If the Spirit was not yet come?* And much more, which were tedious here to relate: and all this while we have been seriously and silently sitting together, and waiting upon the Lord. So that by these things our inward and spiritual fellowship with God, and one with another, in the *pure life of righteousness*, hath not been hindered. But on the contrary, the Lord knowing our sufferings and reproaches for his testimony's sake, hath caused his power and glory more to abound among us, and hath mightily refreshed us by the sense of his love, which hath filled our souls; and so much the rather, as we found ourselves gathered into the *name of the Lord*, which is the *strong tower of the righteous;* whereby we felt ourselves sheltered from receiving any inward hurt through their malice: and also that he had delivered us from that vain name and profession of *Christianity*, under which our opposers were not ashamed to bring forth those bitter and cursed fruits. Yea, sometimes in the midst of this tumult and opposition, God would *powerfully move* some or other of us by his Spirit, both to testify of that *joy*, which notwithstanding their malice we enjoyed, and powerfully to declare, in the evidence and demonstration of the Spirit, against their *folly* and *wickedness;* so as the power of truth hath brought them

Prov. xviii. 10.

to some measure of quietness and stillness, and stopt the impetuous streams of their *fury* and *madness:* that even as of old *Moses* by his rod divided the waves of the Red Sea, that the *Israelites* might pass; so God hath thus by his *Spirit* made a way for us in the midst of this *raging wickedness*, peaceably to enjoy and possess him, and accomplish our *worship* to him: so that sometimes upon such occasions several of our *opposers* and *interrupters* have hereby been convinced of the *truth*, and gathered from being *persecutors* to be *sufferers* with us. And let it not be forgotten, but let it be inscribed and abide for a constant remembrance of the thing, that in these beastly and brutish pranks, used to molest us in our *spiritual meetings*, none have been more busy than the *young students* of the *universities*, who were learning *philosophy* and *divinity*, (so called,) and many of them preparing themselves for the *ministry*. Should we commit to writing all the *abominations* committed in this respect by the *young fry* of the *clergy*, it would make no small volume; as the *churches* of *Christ*, gathered into his pure worship in *Oxford* and *Cambridge* in *England*, and *Edinburgh* and *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*, where the *universities* are, can well bear witness.

The rod of Moses divided the sea: the Spirit maketh way thro' the raging waves.

What brutish pranks did not that young fry of the clergy commit?

§. XIV. Moreover, in this we know, that we are partakers of the *new covenant's dispensation*, and *disciples of Christ* indeed, sharing with him in that *spiritual worship*, which is performed in the *Spirit* and in *truth;* because as he was, so are we in this world. For the *old covenant-worship* had an outward *glory*, *temple*, and *ceremonies*, and was full of outward *splendor* and *majesty*, having an outward *tabernacle* and *altar*, beautified with *gold*, *silver*, and *precious stones;* and their *sacrifices* were confined to a particular place, even the outward *Mount Sion;* and those that prayed, were to pray with their faces towards that outward *temple:* and therefore all this was to be protected by an

How the old covenant-worship doth differ from the new.

outward arm. Nor could the *Jews* peaceably have enjoyed it, but when they were secured from the *violence* of their outward *enemies*: and therefore when at any time their *enemies* prevailed over them, their *glory* was darkened, and their *sacrifices* stopt; and the *face* of their *worship* marred: hence they complain, lament, and bewail the destroying of the *temple*, as a loss irreparable. But *Jesus Christ*, the author and institutor of the *new covenant-worship*, testifies, that *God* is neither to be *worshipped* in this nor that place, but in the *Spirit* and in *Truth*: and forasmuch as his *kingdom is not of this world*, neither doth his *worship* consist in it, or need either the *wisdom*, *glory*, *riches*, or *splendor* of this world to beautify or adorn it; nor yet the outward *power* or *arm* of *flesh* to maintain, uphold, or protect it; but it is and may be performed by those that are *spiritually-minded*, nothwithstanding all the *opposition*, *violence*, and *malice* of men; because it being purely *spiritual*, it is out of the reach of natural men to interrupt or obstruct it. Even as *Jesus Christ*, the author thereof, did enjoy and possess his *spiritual kingdom*, while oppressed, persecuted, and rejected of *men*; and as, in despite of the malice and rage of the *devil*, *he spoiled principalities and powers, triumphing over them, and through death destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the devil;* so also all his followers both can and do *worship* him, not only without the arm of flesh to protect them, but even when oppressed. For their *worship* being *spiritual*, is by the power of the spirit defended and maintained; but such *worships* as are *carnal*, and consist in *carnal* and *outward ceremonies* and *observations*, need a carnal and outward arm to protect and defend them, else they cannot stand and subsist. And therefore it appears, that the several *worships* of our *opposers*, both *Papists* and *Protestants*, are of this kind, and not the true *spiritual* and *new covenant-worship* of *Christ*; because, as hath been observed, they cannot stand

The new covenant-worship is inward. John xviii. 36.

Col. ii. 15.

Carnal worships cannot stand without the arm of flesh.

without the protection or countenance of the outward *magistrate*, neither can be performed, if there be the least opposition: for they are not in the patience of *Jesus*, to serve and worship him with *sufferings*, *ignominies*, *calumnies*, and *reproaches*. And from hence have sprung all those *wars*, *fightings*, and *bloodshed* among *Christians*, while each by the arm of flesh endeavoured to defend and protect their own *way* and *worship:* and from this also sprung up that monstrous opinion of *persecution;* of which we shall speak more at length hereafter.

IV. True worship in Spirit established by Christ.

§. XV. But Fourthly; The nature of this worship, which is performed by the operation of the *Spirit*, the natural man being silent, doth appear from these words of Christ, *John* iv. 23, 24. *But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth.* This testimony is the more specially to be observed, for that it is both the *first*, *chiefest*, and *most ample testimony*, which *Christ* gives us of his *Christian worship*, as different and contra-distinguished from that under the *law*. For first, he showeth that the season is now come, wherein the *worship must be in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him:* so then it is no more a worship consisting in outward observations, to be performed by man at set *times* or *opportunities*, which he can do in his own will, and by his own natural strength; for else it would not differ in matter, but only in some circumstances from that under the *law*.

The reason Christ gives for a worship in Spirit.

Next, as for a reason of this *worship*, we need not give any other, and indeed none can give a better than that which *Christ* giveth, which I think should be sufficient to satisfy every *Christian*, to wit, *GOD IS A SPIRIT, and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth.* As this ought to be received, because it is the words of *Christ*, so also it

is founded upon so clear a demonstration of reason, as sufficiently evinceth its *verity*. For Christ excellently argues from the *analogy* that ought to be betwixt the *object*, and the *worship* directed thereunto:

Arg. *God is a* Spirit;
Therefore, *he must be worshipped in* Spirit.

This is so certain, that it can suffer no contradiction; yea, and this analogy is so necessary to be minded, that under the *law*, when God instituted and appointed that ceremonial worship to the *Jews*, because that worship was outward, that there might be an *analogy*, he saw it necessary to condescend to them as in a special manner, to dwell betwixt the *Cherubims* within the *tabernacle*, and afterwards to make the *temple* of *Jerusalem* in a sort his habitation, and cause something of an *outward glory* and *majesty* to appear, by causing fire from *heaven* to consume the *sacrifices*, and filling the *temple* with a *cloud:* through and by which *mediums*, visible to the outward eye, he manifested himself proportionably to that outward worship which he had commanded them to perform. So now under the *new covenant*, he seeing meet in his heavenly wisdom to lead his children in a path more *heavenly* and *spiritual*, and in a way more easy and familiar, and also purposing to disappoint *carnal* and *outward observations*, that his may have an eye more to an *inward glory* and *kingdom* than to an *outward*, he hath given us for an example hereof the appearance of his beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, who (as *Moses* delivered the *Israelites* out of their *outward bondage*, and by *outwardly destroying* their enemies) hath delivered and doth deliver us by suffering, and dying by the hands of his *enemies;* thereby triumphing over the *devil*, and his and our inward *enemies*, and delivering us therefrom. He hath also instituted an *inward* and *spiritual worship:* so that God now tieth not his people to the *temple* of

The glory of the outward temple.

As Moses did from outward, so Christ delivers his from inward slavery.

Jerusalem, nor yet unto outward *ceremonies* and *observations;* but taketh the heart of every *Christian* for a *temple* to dwell in; and there immediately appeareth, and giveth him directions how to serve him in any outward acts. Since, as Christ argueth, *God is a Spirit*, he will now be worshipped in the Spirit, where he reveals himself, and dwelleth with the *contrite in heart.* Now, since it is the *heart of man* that now is become the *temple of God*, in which he will be worshipped, and no more in particular outward temples, (since, as blessed *Stephen* said, out of the prophet, to the professing *Jews* of old, *The most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands*,) as before the *glory of the Lord* descended to fill the outward temple, it behoved to be purified and cleansed, and all polluted stuff removed out of it; yea, and the place for the tabernacle was overlaid with gold, the most precious and cleanest of metals; so also before God be worshipped in the inward temple of the heart, it must also be purged of its own filth, and all its own thoughts and imaginations, that so it may be fit to receive the Spirit of God, and to be actuated by it. And doth not this directly lead us to that *inward silence*, of which we have spoken, and exactly pointed out? And further, This worship must be *in truth;* intimating, that this spiritual worship, thus actuated, is only and properly a true worship; as being that which, for the reasons above observed, cannot be counterfeited by the enemy, nor yet performed by the hypocrite.

§. XVI. And though this *worship* be indeed very different from the divers established invented worships among *Christians*, and therefore may seem strange to many, yet hath it been testified of, commended and practised, by the most pious of all sorts, in all ages, as by many evident testimonies might be proved. So that from the professing

A certain sect of Mystics among the Papists, their inward exercise. See Sancta Sophia, printed Anno Dom. 1657.

and practising thereof, the name of *Mystics* hath arisen, as of a certain sect, generally commended by all, whose *writings* are full both of the explanation and of the commendation of this sort of *worship;* where they plentifully assert this *inward introversion* and *abstraction of the mind*, as they call it, *from all images and thoughts*, and the *prayer of the will:* yea, they look upon this as the *height* of *Christian perfection;* so that some of them, though professed *Papists*, do not doubt to affirm, *That such as have attained this method of worship, or are aiming at it*, (as in a book, called *Sancta Sophia*, put out by the *English Benedictines*, printed at *Doway*, *Anno* 1657. Tract. I. Sect. 2. cap. 5.) *need not, nor ought to trouble or busy themselves with frequent and unnecessary confessions, with exercising corporal labours and austerities, the using of vocal voluntary prayers, the hearing of a number of masses, or set devotions, or exercises to saints, or prayers for the dead, or having solicitous and distracting cares to gain indulgences, by going to such and such churches, or adjoining one's self to confraternities, or entangling one's self with vows and promises; because such kind of things hinder the soul from observing the operations of the Divine Spirit in it, and from having liberty to follow the Spirit whither it would draw her.* And yet who knows not that in such kind of observations the very substance of the *Popish religion* consisteth? Yet nevertheless, it appears by this, and many other passages, which out of their *Mystic writers* might be mentioned, how they look upon this *worship* as excelling all other; and that such as arrived hereunto, had no absolute need of the others: yea, (see the Life of *Balthazar Alvares*, in the same *Sancta Sophia*, Tract. III. Sect. 1. cap. 7.) such as tasted of this, quickly confessed, that the other *forms* and *ceremonies of worship* were useless as to them; neither did they perform them as things necessary, but merely for order or example's sake.

The English Benedictines' testimony for the spiritual worship against their masses and set devotions.

And therefore, though some of them were so overclouded with the common darkness of their profession, yet could they affirm that this *spiritual worship* was still to be retained and sought for, even though it should be become necessary to omit their outward ceremonies. Hence *Bernard*, as in many other places, so in his *Epistle* to *William*, abbot of the same order, saith, *Take heed to the rule of God; the kingdom of God is within you:* and afterwards, saying, that their outward orders and rules should be observed, he adds; *But otherwise, when it shall happen that one of these two must be omitted, in such a case these are much rather to be omitted than those former: for by how much the Spirit is more excellent and noble than the body, by so much are spiritual exercises more profitable than corporal.* Is not that then the best of worships, which the best of men in all ages, and of all sects, have commended, and which is most suitable to the doctrine of Christ? I say, Is not that worship to be followed and performed? And so much the rather, as God hath raised a people to testify for it, and preach it, to their great refreshment and strengthening, in the very face of the world, and notwithstanding much opposition; who do not, as these *Mystics*, make of it a mystery, only to be attained by a few men or women in a cloister; or, as their mistake was, after wearying themselves with many outward *ceremonies* and *observations*, as if it were the consequence of such a labour; but who in the free love of God, (who respects not persons, and was near to hear and reveal himself, as well to *Cornelius*, a centurion and a Roman, as to *Simeon* and *Anna;* and who discovered his glory to *Mary*, a poor handmaid, and to the poor *shepherds*, rather than to the *high priests* and *devout proselytes* among the *Jews*,) in and according to his *free love*, finding that God is revealing and establishing this worship, and making many poor

Bernard preferring the Spirit above Popish orders.

Those Mystics did confine that mystery to a cloister.

tradesmen, yea, young boys and girls, witnesses of it, do entreat and beseech all to lay aside their own will-worships, and voluntary acts, performed in their own wills, and by their own mere natural strength and power, without retiring out of their vain imaginations and thoughts, or feeling the *pure Spirit of God* to move and stir in them; that they may come to practise this acceptable worship, which is *in Spirit and in Truth.* But against this worship they object;

Obj. 1. §. XVII. First, *It seems to be an unprofitable exercise for a man to be doing or thinking nothing; and that one might be much better employed, either in meditating upon some good subject, or otherwise praying to or praising God.*

Answ. I answer; That is not unprofitable, which is of absolute necessity before any other duty can be acceptably performed, as we have shown this *waiting* to be. Moreover, those have but a carnal and gross apprehension of God, and of the things of his kingdom, who imagine that men please him by their own workings and actings: whereas, as hath been shown, the *first step* for a man to fear God, is to cease from his own thoughts and imaginations, and suffer God's Spirit to work in him. For we must *cease to do evil*, ere we *learn to do well;* and this meddling in things *spiritual* by man's own natural understanding, is one of the greatest and most dangerous evils that man is incident to; being that which occasioned our *first parents'* fall, to wit, a forwardness to desire to know things, and a meddling with them, both without and contrary to the Lord's command.

Isa. i. 16. 17. We must cease to do ill, ere we learn to do well.

Obj. 2. Secondly; Some object, *If your worship merely consist in inwardly retiring to the Lord, and feeling of his Spirit arise in you, and then to do outward acts as ye are led by it, what need ye have public meetings at set times and places, since every one may enjoy this at home? Or should not every one stay at home, until*

Set times and places for meetings.

they be particularly moved to go to such a place at such a time; since to meet at set times and places seems to be an outward observation and ceremony, contrary to what ye at other times assert?

I answer, first; To meet at set times and places is not any *religious act*, or part of *worship* in itself; but only an *outward conveniency*, necessary for our seeing one another, so long as we are clothed with this *outward tabernacle;* and therefore our *meeting* at set times and places is not a part of our *worship*, but a preparatory accommodation of our outward man, in order to a public visible *worship;* since we set not about the visible acts of *worship* when we meet together, until we be led thereunto by the *Spirit* of *God.* Secondly, God hath seen meet, so long as his *children* are in this *world*, to make use of the outward senses, not only as a means to convey *spiritual life*, as by *speaking*, *praying*, *praising*, *&c.* which cannot be done to mutual edification, but when we hear and see one another; but also to maintain an outward, visible *testimony* for his name in the world: he causeth the inward life (which is also many times not conveyed by the *outward senses*) the more to abound, when his children assemble themselves diligently together to wait upon him; so that *as iron sharpeneth iron*, the seeing of the faces one of another, when both are inwardly gathered unto the *life*, giveth occasion for the *life* secretly to rise, and pass from *vessel* to *vessel.* And as many candles lighted, and put in one place, do greatly augment the *light*, and make it more to shine forth, so when many are gathered together into the same *life*, there is more of the glory of God, and his power appears, to the refreshment of each individual; for that he partakes not only of the *light* and *life* raised in himself, but in all the rest. And therefore *Christ* hath particularly promised a blessing to such as assemble together in his *name*, seeing he will be *in the midst of them*, Matth. xviii.

Answ. Public meetings, their use & reason asserted.

Prov. xxvii. 17.

20. And the author to the *Hebrews* doth precisely prohibit the neglect of this duty, as being of very dangerous and dreadful consequence, in these words; Heb. x. 24. *And let us consider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works; not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is;—For if we sin wilfully, after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins.* And therefore the Lord hath shown that he hath a particular respect to such as thus assemble themselves together, because that thereby a public testimony for him is upheld in the earth, and his name is thereby glorified; and therefore such as are right in their *spirits*, are naturally drawn to keep the *meetings* of *God's people*, and never want a *spiritual influence* to lead them thereunto: and if any do it in a mere customary way, they will no doubt suffer condemnation for it. Yet cannot the appointing of places and times be accounted a *ceremony* and *observation*, done in man's *will*, in the *worship* of *God*, seeing none can say that it is an *act* of *worship*, but only a mere *presenting* of our *persons* in order to it, as is above said. Which that it was practised by the *primitive church* and *saints*, all our adversaries do acknowledge.

Assembling of ourselves is not to be neglected.

Obj. 3. Lastly, Some object, *That this manner of worship in silence is not to be found in all the scripture:*

Answ. I answer; We make not silence to be the sole matter of our *worship;* since, as I have said above, there are many *meetings*, which are seldom altogether silent; some or other are still moved either to *preach*, *pray*, or *praise:* and so in this our *meetings* cannot but be like the *meetings* of the *primitive churches* recorded in scripture, since our *adversaries* confess that they did *preach* and *pray* by the *Spirit*. And then what absurdity is it to suppose, that at some times the *Spirit* did not move them to these outward *acts*, and that then they

In waiting for the Spirit's guidance, silence is supposed.

were silent? Since we may well conclude they did not speak until they were moved; and so no doubt had sometimes silence. *Acts* ii. 1. before the Spirit came upon them, it is said,—*They were all with one accord in one place;* and then it is said, *The Spirit suddenly came upon them;* but no mention is made of any one speaking at that time; and I would willingly know what *absurdity* our *adversaries* can infer, should we conclude they were a while silent?

But if it be urged, That *a whole silent meeting cannot be found in scripture;* Inst.

I answer; Supposing such a thing were not recorded, it will not therefore follow that it is not lawful; since it naturally followeth from other *scripture precepts*, as we have proved this doth. For seeing the *scripture* commands to meet together, and when met, the scripture prohibits *prayers* or *preachings*, but as the Spirit moveth thereunto; if people meet together, and the Spirit move not to such acts, it will necessarily follow that they must be silent. But further, there might have been many such things among the *saints* of *old*, though not recorded in *scripture;* and yet we have enough in *scripture*, signifying that such things were. For *Job* sat silent *seven days with his friends together;* here was a long *silent meeting:* see also *Ezra* ix. 4. and *Ezekiel* xiv. 1. and xx. 1. Thus having shown the excellency of this *worship*, proving it from *scripture* and *reason*, and answering the objections which are commonly made against it, which, though it may suffice to the explanation and proof of our *proposition*, yet I shall add something more particularly of *preaching*, *praying*, and *singing*, and so proceed to the following *proposition*. Answ.

Silent meetings are proved from scripture and reason.

I.

§. XVIII. *Preaching*, as it is used both among *Papists* and *Protestants*, is for one man to take some place or verse of scripture, and thereon *speak* for an hour or two, what he hath studied and premedi-

What preaching is with the Protestants and Papists.

A studied talk an hour or two.

tated in his closet, and gathered together from his own inventions, or from the writings and observations of others; and then having got it by heart, (as a *school-boy* doth his *lesson*,) he brings it forth, and repeats it before the people: and how much the more fertile and strong a man's *invention* is, and the more industrious and laborious he is in collecting such *observations*, and can utter them with the *excellency* of *speech* and *human eloquence*, so much the more is he accounted an able and excellent preacher.

True preaching by the Spirit.

To this we oppose, that when the *saints* are met together, and every one gathered to the *gift* and *grace* of God in themselves, he that ministereth, being actuated thereunto by the arising of the *grace* in himself, ought to speak forth what the Spirit of God furnisheth him with; not minding the *eloquence* and *wisdom* of *words*, but the *demonstration* of the *Spirit* and of *power:* and that either in the interpreting some part of *scripture*, in case the Spirit, which is the good remembrancer, lead him so to do, or otherwise *words* of *exhortation*, *advice*, *reproof*, and *instruction*, or the sense of some *spiritual experiences:* all which will still be agreeable to the *scripture*, though perhaps not relative to, nor founded upon any particular *chapter* or *verse*, as a *text*. Now let us examine and consider which of these two sorts of preaching is most agreeable to the *precepts* of *Christ* and his *apostles*, and the *primitive church*, recorded in scripture? For, first, as to their *preaching* upon a *text*, if it were not merely customary or premeditated, but done by the immediate motion of the *Spirit*, we should not blame it; but to do it as they do, there is neither *precept* nor *practice*, that ever I could observe, in the *New Testament*, as a part of the *instituted worship* thereof.

Object. But they *allege*, *That Christ took the book of* Isaiah, *and read out of it, and spake therefrom; and that* Peter *preached from a sentence of the prophet* Joel.

I *answer*, That *Christ* and *Peter* did it not but as immediately actuated and moved thereunto by the Spirit of God, and that without premeditation, which I suppose our adversaries will not deny; in which case we willingly approve of it. But what is this to their customary conned way, without either waiting for or expecting the movings or leadings of the Spirit? Moreover, that neither *Christ* nor *Peter* did it as a settled custom or form, to be constantly practised by all the ministers of the church, appears, in that most of all the sermons recorded of *Christ* and his *apostles* in scripture were without this, as appears from *Christ's* sermon upon the mount, *Mat.* v. 1. *&c. Mark* iv. 1. *&c.* and *Paul's* preaching to the *Athenians*, and to the *Jews*, &c. As then it appears that this method of preaching is not grounded upon any scripture precept, so the nature of it is contrary to the preaching of Christ under the *new covenant*, as expressed and recommended in scripture; for Christ, in sending forth his disciples, expressly mentioneth, that they are not to speak *of* or *from* themselves, or to forecast before hand, but that which the *Spirit in the same hour shall teach them*, as is particularly mentioned in the three evangelists, *Mat.* x. 20. *Mark* xiii. 11. *Luke* xii. 12. Now if *Christ* gave this order to his disciples before he departed from them, as that which they were to practise during his abode outwardly with them, much more were they to do it after his departure, since then they were more especially to receive the Spirit, *to lead them in all things*, and to *bring all things to their remembrance*, John xiv. 26. And if they were to do so when they appeared before the magistrates and princes of the earth, much more in the worship of God, when they stand specially before him; seeing, as is above shown, his worship is to be performed in Spirit; and therefore after their receiving of the *Holy Ghost*, it is said, *Acts* ii. 4. *They spake as the*

Answ. 1 Christ & Peter's speaking was not by premeditation.

Spirit gave them utterance, not what they had studied and gathered from books in their closets in a premeditated way.

Franciscus Lambertus's testimony against the priests' studied inventions and figments.

Franciscus Lambertus, before cited, speaketh well and showeth their hypocrisy, *Tract.* 5. of *Prophecy*, chap. iii. saying, *Where are they now that glory in their inventions, who say, a fine invention! a fine invention! This they call invention, which themselves have made up; but what have the faithful to do with such kind of invention? It is not figments, nor yet inventions, that we will have, but things that are solid, invincible, eternal, and heavenly; not which men have invented, but which God hath revealed: for if we believe the scriptures, our invention profiteth nothing, but to provoke God to our ruin.* And afterwards, *Beware* (saith he) *that thou determine not precisely to speak what before thou hast meditated, whatsoever it be; for though it be lawful to determine the text which thou art to expound, yet not at all the interpretation; lest if thou so dost, thou take from the Holy Spirit that which is his, to wit, to direct thy speech, that thou mayest prophesy in the name of the Lord, void of all learning, meditation, and experience, and as if thou hadst studied nothing at all, committing thy heart, thy tongue, and thyself wholly unto his Spirit, and trusting nothing to thy former studying or meditation; but saying with thyself, in great confidence of the divine promise*, The Lord will give a word with much power unto those that preach the gospel. *But above all things be careful thou follow not the manner of* hypocrites, *who have written almost word for word what they are to say, as if they were to repeat some verses upon a theatre, having learned all their preaching as they do that act* tragedies. *And afterwards, when they are in the place of prophesying, pray the Lord to direct their tongue; but in the mean time, shutting up the way of the Holy Spirit, they determine to say nothing but what they have written. O unhappy kind of* proph-

ets, yea, and truly cursed, which depend not upon God's Spirit, but upon their own writings or meditation! Why prayest thou to the Lord, thou false prophet, to give thee his holy Spirit, by which thou mayest speak things profitable, and yet thou repellest the Spirit? Why preferrest thou thy meditation or study to the Spirit of God? Otherwise why committest thou not thyself to the Spirit?

2. The words man's wisdom brings beget not faith.

§. XIX. Secondly, This manner of preaching as used by them (considering that they also affirm *that it may be and often is performed by men who are wicked, or void of true grace*) cannot only not edify the church, beget or nourish true faith, but is destructive to it, being directly contrary to the nature of the *Christian* and *apostolic ministry* mentioned in the scriptures: for the *apostle preached the gospel not in the wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be of none effect*, 1 Cor. i. 17. But this preaching not being done by the actings and movings of God's Spirit, but by man's invention and eloquence, in his own will, and through his natural and acquired parts and learning, is in the wisdom of words, and therefore the *cross of Christ* is thereby made of none effect. The apostle's *speech* and *preaching* was not *with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power*, that the faith of their hearers *should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God*, 1 Cor. ii. 3, 4, 5. But this preaching having nothing of the Spirit and power in it, both the preachers and hearers confessing they wait for no such thing, nor yet are oftentimes sensible of it, must needs stand in the enticing words of man's wisdom, since it is by the mere wisdom of man it is sought after, and the mere strength of man's eloquence and enticing words it is uttered; and therefore no wonder if the faith of such as hear and depend upon such preachers and preachings stand in the wisdom of men, and not in the power

of God. The apostles declared, That they *spake not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth*, 1 Cor. ii. 13. But these preachers confess that they are strangers to the *Holy Ghost*, his motions and operations, neither do they wait to feel them, and therefore they speak in the words which their own natural wisdom and learning teach them, mixing them in, and adding them to, such words as they steal out of the scripture and other books, and therefore speak not what the *Holy Ghost* teacheth.

3. True church's method was to speak by revelation.

Thirdly, This is contrary to the method and order of the *primitive church* mentioned by the apostle, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 30. &c. where in *preaching* every one is to wait for his *revelation*, and to give place one unto another, according as things are revealed; but here there is no waiting for a *revelation*, but the preacher must speak, and not that which is revealed unto him, but what he hath prepared and premeditated before-hand.

4. The Spirit is shut out by priests from being the teacher.

Lastly, By this kind of preaching the Spirit of God, which should be the chief instructer and teacher of God's people, and whose influence is that only which makes all preaching effectual and beneficial for the edifying of souls, is shut out, and man's natural wisdom, learning, and parts set up and exalted; which no doubt is a great and chief reason why the preaching among the generality of *Christians* is so unfruitful and unsuccessful. Yea, according to this doctrine, the devil may preach, and ought to be heard also, seeing he both knoweth the truth, and hath as much eloquence as any. But what avails excellency of speech, if the demonstration and power of the Spirit be wanting, which toucheth the conscience? We see that when the devil confessed to the truth, yet Christ would have none of his testimony. And as these pregnant testimonies of the scripture do prove this part of preaching to be contrary to

the doctrine of Christ, so do they also prove *that of ours* before affirmed to be conformable thereunto.

§. XX. But if any object after this manner, *Have not many been benefitted, yea, and both converted and edified by the ministry of such as have premeditated their preaching? Yea, and hath not the Spirit often concurred by its divine influence with preachings thus premeditated, so as they have been powerfully borne in upon the souls of the hearers to their advantage?* Object.

I *answer*, Though that be granted, which I shall not deny, it will not infer that the thing was good in itself, more than because *Paul* was met with by Christ to the converting of his soul riding to *Damascus* to persecute the saints, that he did well in so doing. Neither particular actions, nor yet whole congregations, as we above observed, are to be measured by the acts of God's condescension in times of ignorance. But besides, it hath oftentimes fallen out, that God, having a regard to the simplicity and integrity either of the preacher or hearers, hath fallen in upon the heart of a preacher by his power and holy influence, and thereby hath led him to speak things that were not in his premeditated discourse, and which perhaps he never thought on before; and those passing ejaculations, and unpremeditated but living exhortations, have proved more beneficial and refreshing both to preacher and hearers than all their premeditated sermons. But all that will not allow them to continue in these things which in themselves are not approved, but contrary to the practice of the apostles, when God is raising up a people to serve him, according to the *primitive purity* and *spirituality;* yea, such acts of *God's condescension*, in times of darkness and ignorance, should engage all more and more to follow him, according as he reveals his most *perfect* and *spiritual way*. Answ.

Paul persecuting was converted, is therefore persecuting good?

II. Of prayer, how the outward is distinguished from the inward.

§. XXI. Having hitherto spoken of *preaching*, now it is fit to speak of *praying*, concerning which the like controversy ariseth. Our adversaries, whose *religion* is all for the most part *outside*, and such whose acts are the mere product of man's natural will and abilities, as they can preach, so can they pray when they please, and therefore have their set particular prayers. I meddle not with the controversies among themselves concering this, some of them being for *set prayers*, as a *liturgy*, others for such as are conceived *extempore:* it suffices me that all of them agree in this, That the motions and influence of the Spirit of God are not necessary to be previous thereunto; and therefore they have *set times* in their public worship, as before and after preaching, and in their private devotion, as morning and evening, and before and after meat, and other such occasions, at which they precisely set about the performing of their prayers, by speaking words to God, whether they feel any motion or influence of the Spirit or not; so that some of the chiefest have confessed that they have thus prayed without the motions or assistance of the Spirit, acknowledging that they sinned in so doing; yet they said they looked upon it as their duty so to do, though to pray without the Spirit be sin. We freely confess that *prayer* is both very profitable, and a necessary duty commanded, and fit to be practised frequently by all *Christians;* but as we can do nothing without Christ, so neither can we pray without the concurrence and assistance of his Spirit. But that the *state* of the *controversy* may be the better understood, let it be considered, *first*, that *prayer* is two-fold, *inward* and *outward*. *Inward prayer* is that *secret turning of the mind towards God*, whereby, being secretly touched and awakened by the *light of Christ* in the conscience, and so bowed down under the sense of its iniquities, unworthi-

The priests set times to preach and pray, deny the Spirit.

What inward prayer is.

ness, and misery, it looks up to God, and joining with the secret shinings of the *seed of God*, it breathes towards him, and is constantly breathing forth some secret desires and aspirations towards him. It is in this sense that we are so frequently in scripture commanded to *pray continually*, Luke xviii. 1. 1 Thess. v. 17. Eph. vi. 18. Luke xxi. 36. which cannot be understood of *outward prayer*, because it were impossible that men should be always upon their knees, expressing *words* of *prayer;* and this would hinder them from the exercise of those *duties* no less positively commanded. *Outward prayer* is, when as the Spirit, being thus in the exercise of inward retirement, and feeling the breathing of the Spirit of God to arise powerfully in the soul, receives strength and liberty by a superadded motion and influence of the *Spirit* to bring forth either audible *sighs*, *groans*, or *words*, and that either in public assemblies, or in private, or at meat, &c.

What outward prayer is.

As then *inward prayer is necessary at all times*, so, so long as the day of every man's *visitation* lasteth, he never wants some influence, less or more, for the practice of it; because he no sooner retires his mind, and considers himself in God's presence, but he finds himself in the practice of it.

Inward prayer necessary at all times.

The *outward exercise of prayer*, as needing a greater and superadded influence and motion of the Spirit, as it cannot be continually practised, so neither can it be so readily, so as to be effectually performed, until his mind be some time acquainted with the *inward;* therefore such as are diligent and watchful in their minds, and much retired in the exercise of this *inward prayer*, are more capable to be frequent in the use of the *outward*, because that this holy influence doth more constantly attend them, and they being better acquainted with, and accustomed to, the motions of *God's Spirit*, can easily perceive and discern them. And in-

Outward prayer doth require a superadded influence.

deed, as such who are most diligent have a near access to God, and he taketh most delight to draw them by his *Spirit* to approach and call upon him, so when many are gathered together in this *watchful mind*, God doth frequently pour forth the *Spirit* of *prayer* among them and stir them thereunto, to the edifying and building up of one another in *love*. But because this *outward prayer* depends upon the *inward*, as that which must follow it, and cannot be acceptably performed but as attended with a superadded influence and motion of the *Spirit*, therefore cannot we prefix set times to *pray outwardly*, so as to lay a necessity to speak words at such and such times, whether we feel this heavenly influence and assistance or no; for that we judge were a tempting of God, and a coming before him without due *preparation*. We think it fit for us to present ourselves before him by this *inward retirement* of the *mind*, and so to proceed further, as his Spirit shall help us and draw us thereunto; and we find that the Lord accepts of this, yea, and seeth meet sometimes to exercise us in this silent place for the trial of our *patience*, without allowing us to speak further, that he may teach us not to rely upon outward *performances*, or satisfy ourselves, as too many do, with the saying of our *prayers;* and that our dependence upon him may be the more firm and constant, to wait for the holding out of his *sceptre*, and for his allowance to draw near unto him, with greater freedom and enlargement of *Spirit* upon our *hearts* towards him. Yet nevertheless we do not deny but sometimes God, upon particular occasions, very suddenly, yea, upon the very first turning in of the *mind*, may give power and liberty to bring forth words or acts of *outward prayer*, so as the soul can scarce discern any previous motion, but the influence and bringing forth thereof may be as it were *simul & semel:* nevertheless that saying of

We cannot fix set times to speak and pray.

Bernard is true, that *all prayer is lukewarm which hath not an inspiration preceding it.* Though we affirm that none ought to go about *prayer* without this motion, yet we do not deny but such *sin* as neglect *prayer;* but their *sin* is in that they come not to that place where they may feel that which would lead them thereunto. And therefore we question not but many, through neglect of this *inward watchfulness* and *retiredness* of *mind*, miss many precious opportunities to *pray*, and thereby are guilty in the sight of God; yet would they *sin* if they should set about the act until they first felt the influence. For as he grossly offends his *master* that lieth in his bed and sleeps, and neglects to do his *master's business;* yet if such a one should suddenly get up, without putting on his clothes, or taking along with him those necessary *tools* and *instruments*, without which he could not possibly work, and should forwardly fall a doing to no purpose, he would be so far thereby from repairing his former *fault*, that he would justly incur a new censure: and as one that is careless and otherways busied may miss to hear one speaking unto him, or even not hear the bell of a clock, though striking hard by him, so may many, through negligence, miss to hear God oftentimes calling upon them, and giving them access to pray unto him; yet will not that allow them, without his liberty, in their own wills to fall to work.

Such sin as are neglecting prayer.

A forward & a careless servant answers not his duty.

And lastly, Though this be the only true and proper method of prayer, as that which is alone acceptable to God, yet shall we not deny but he oftentimes answered the *prayers* and concurred with the *desires* of some, especially in times of *darkness*, who have greatly erred herein; so that some that have sat down in *formal prayer*, though far wrong in the matter as well as manner, without the assistance or influence of *God's Spirit*, yet have found him to take occasion therethrough to

In times of darkness God did often hear their prayers.

break in upon their souls, and wonderfully tender and refresh them; yet as in *preaching* and elsewhere hath afore been observed, that will not prove any such *practices*, or be a just let to hinder any from coming to *practice* that *pure*, *spiritual*, and *acceptable prayer*, which God is again restoring and leading his people into, out of all *superstitions* and mere *empty formalities*. The state of the *controversy*, and our *sense* thereof, being thus clearly stated, will both obviate many *objections*, and make the answer to others more brief and easy. I shall first prove this *spiritual prayer* by some short considerations from *scripture*, and then answer the objections of our opposers, which will also serve to refute their method and manner thereof.

First, Spiritual prayer proved from scripture.

I. God's Spirit must be felt to move the mind to prayer.

§. XXII. And First, That there is a necessity of this *inward retirement* of the *mind* as previous to *prayer*, that the *Spirit* may be felt to draw thereunto, appears, for that in most of those places where *prayer* is commanded, *watching* is prefixed thereunto, as necessary to go before, as *Matt.* xxiv. 42. *Mark* xiii. 33. and xiv. 38. *Luke* xxi. 36. from which it is evident that this *watching* was to go before *prayer*. Now to what end is this *watching*, or what is it, but a waiting to feel *God's Spirit* to draw unto *prayer*, that so it may be done acceptably? for since we are to *pray always in the Spirit*, and cannot pray of ourselves without it acceptably, this watching must be for this end recommended to us, as preceding *prayer*, that we may watch and wait for the seasonable time to *pray*, which is when the Spirit moves thereunto.

Eph. vi. 18.

II. We know not how to pray but as the Spirit helps.

Secondly, This necessity of the Spirit's moving and concurrence appears abundantly from that of the apostle *Paul*, Rom. viii. 26, 27. *Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the hearts*

knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God. Which *first* holds forth the incapacity of men as of themselves to pray or call upon God in their own wills, even such as have received the *faith* of *Christ*, and are in measure sanctified by it, as was the church of *Rome*, to which the apostle then wrote. *Secondly*, It holds forth that which can only help and assist men to pray, to wit, the Spirit, as that without which they cannot do it acceptably to God, nor beneficially to their own souls. *Thirdly*, The manner and way of the Spirit's intercession, *with sighs and groans which are unutterable.* And *Fourthly*, That God receiveth graciously the prayers of such as are presented and offered unto himself by the Spirit, *knowing it to be according to his will.* Now it cannot be conceived but this order of prayer thus asserted by the apostle, is most consistent with those other testimonies of scripture, commending and recommending to us the use of prayer. From which I thus argue,

Arg. *If any man know not how to pray*, neither *can do it without the help of the Spirit, then it is to no purpose for him, but altogether unprofitable*, to pray without it.

But the first *is true, therefore also the* last.

III. Pray always in the Spirit, & watching thereunto.

Thirdly, This necessity of the Spirit to true prayer appears from *Eph.* vi. 18. and *Jude* 20. where the apostle commands *to pray always in the Spirit, and watching thereunto;* which is as much as if he had said, that we were never to pray without the Spirit, or watching thereunto. And *Jude* showeth that such prayers as are *in the Holy Ghost* only, tend to the *building up of ourselves in our most holy faith.*

IV. Man cannot call Christ Lord but by the Holy Ghost.

Fourthly, The apostle *Paul* saith expressly, 1 *Cor.* xii. 3. *That no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost:* If then Jesus cannot be thus rightly named but by the *Holy Ghost*, far less can he be acceptably called upon. Hence the same apostle

declares, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 15. that he *will pray with the Spirit*, &c. A clear evidence that it was none of his method to pray without it.

V. God will not hear the prayers of the wicked.

But Fifthly, All *prayer* without the Spirit is *abomination*, such as are the *prayers of the wicked*, Prov. xxviii. 9. And the *confidence* that the saints have that *God will hear them* is, if they *ask any thing according to his will*, 1 John v. 14. So if the prayer be not according to his will, there is no ground of confidence that he will hear. Now our adversaries will acknowledge that prayers without the Spirit are not according to the will of God; therefore such as pray without it have no ground to expect an answer: for indeed to bid a man pray without the *Spirit* is all one as to bid one *see* with[illegible] *eyes*, *work* without *hands*, or *go* without *feet*. And to desire a man to fall to *prayer* ere the Spirit, in some measure less or more move him thereunto, is to desire a man to see before he opens his eyes, or to walk before he rises up, or to work with his hands before he moves them.

VI. All sacrifice is sin, not offered by the Spirit.

§. XXIII. But lastly, From this false opinion of praying without the Spirit, and not judging it necessary to be waited for, as that which may be felt to move us thereunto, hath proceeded all the superstition and idolatry that is among those called *Christians*, and those many abominations wherewith the Lord is *provoked*, and his *Spirit grieved*; so that many deceive themselves now, as the *Jews* did of old, thinking it sufficient if they pay their daily sacrifices, and offer their customary oblations; from thence thinking all is well, and creating a false peace to themselves, as the *whore* in the *Proverbs*, because they have offered up their *sacrifices* of morning and evening prayers. And therefore it is manifest that their constant use of these things doth not a whit influence their lives and conversations, but they remain for the most part as bad as ever. Yea, it is frequent both among

Papists and *Protestants*, for them to leap as it were out of their vain, light, and profane conversations at their *set hours* and *seasons*, and fall to their customary devotion; and then, when it is scarce finished, and the words to God scarce out, the former profane talk comes after it; so that the same wicked profane spirit of this world actuates them in both. If there be any such thing as *vain oblations*, or *prayers that are abomination*, which God heareth not, (as is certain there are, and the scripture testifies, *Isa.* lxvi. 3. *Jer.* xiv. 12.) certainly such *prayers* as are acted in man's will, and by his own strength, without God's Spirit, must be of that number.

§. XXIV. Let this suffice for proof. I shall now proceed to answer their objections, when I have said something concerning *joining in prayer with others*. Those that pray together with one accord use not only to concur in their spirits, but also in the gesture of their bôdy, which we also willingly approve of. It becometh those who approach before God to *pray*, that they do it with *bowed knees*, and with their *heads uncovered*, which is our practice.

Concerning joining in prayer with others.

But here ariseth a controversy, *Whether it be lawful to join with others by those external signs of reverence, albeit not in heart, who pray formally, not waiting for the motion of the Spirit, nor judging it necessary.* Obj. 1.

We answer, Not at all; and for our testimony in this thing we have suffered not a little. For when it hath fallen out, that either accidentally, or to witness against their worship, we have been present during the same, and have not found it lawful for us to *bow* with them thereunto, they have often persecuted us, not only with reproaches, but also with strokes and cruel beatings. For this cause they used to accuse us of pride, profanity, and madness, as if we had no re- Answ.

The reason why we cannot join in prayer.

spect or reverence to the *worship of God*, and as if we judged none could pray, or were heard of God, but ourselves. Unto all which, and many more reproaches of this kind, we answer briefly and modestly, That it sufficeth us that we are found so doing, neither through pride, nor madness, nor profanity, but merely lest we should hurt our *consciences;* the reason of which is plain and evident: for since our *principle* and *doctrine* oblige us to believe that the *prayers* of those who themselves confess they are *not actuated by the Spirit* are *abominations*, how can we with a safe conscience join with them?

Obj. 1. If they urge, *That this is the height of uncharitableness and arrogancy, as if we judged ourselves always to pray by the Spirit's motion, but they never; as if we were never deceived by praying without the motions of the Spirit, and that they were never actuated by it, seeing albeit they judge not the motion of the Spirit always necessary, they confess nevertheless that it is very profitable and comfortable, and they feel it often influencing them; which that it sometimes falls out we cannot deny;*

Answ. To all which I answer distinctly, If it were their known and avowed *doctrine* not to pray without the motion of the Spirit, and that, seriously holding thereunto, they did not bind themselves to pray at certain *prescribed times* precisely, at which times they determine to pray, though without the Spirit, then indeed we might be accused of uncharitableness and pride, if we never joined with them; and if they so taught and practised, I doubt not but it would be lawful for us so to do, unless there should appear some manifest and evident hypocrisy and delusion. But seeing they confess that they *pray without the Spirit*, and seeing God hath persuaded us that such prayers are *abominable*, how can we with a safe conscience join with an *abomination?* That God sometimes conde-

Shall we confirm the hypocrites when praying?

scends to them, we do not deny; although now, when the *spiritual worship* is openly proclaimed, and all are invited unto it, the case is otherwise than in those old times of apostacy and darkness; and therefore, albeit any should begin to pray in our presence, not expecting the motion of the Spirit; yet if it manifestly appear that God in condescension did concur with such a one, then according to God's will we should not refuse to join also; but this is rare, lest thence they should be confirmed in their false principle. And although this seems hard in our profession, nevertheless it is so confirmed by the authority both of scripture and right reason, that many convinced thereof have embraced this part before other *truths*, which were easier, and, as they seemed to some, clearer. Among whom is memorable of late years *Alexander Skein*, a magistrate of the city of *Aberdeen*, a man very modest, and very averse from giving offence to others, who nevertheless being overcome by the power of Truth in this matter, behoved for this cause to separate himself from the public assemblies and prayers, and join himself unto us; who also gave the reason of his change, and likewise succinctly, but yet substantially, comprehended this controversy concerning *worship* in some short questions, which he offered to the public preachers of the *city*, and which I think meet to insert in this place.

Some questions of A. Skein proposed to the preachers in Aberdeen.

1. *Whether or not should an act of God's worship be gone about without the motions, leadings, and actings of the Holy Spirit?*

2. *If the motions of the Spirit be necessary to every particular duty, whether should he be waited upon, that all our acts and words may be according as he gives utterance and assistance?*

3. *Whether every one that bears the name of a* Christian, *or professes to be a* Protestant, *hath such an unin-*

terrupted measure thereof, that he may, without waiting, go immediately about the duty?

4. *If there be an indisposition and unfitness at some times for such exercises, at least as to the spiritual and lively performance thereof, whether ought they to be performed in that case, and at that time?*

5. *If any duty be gone about, under pretence that it is in obedience to the external command, without the spiritual life and motion necessary, whether such a duty thus performed can in faith be expected to be accepted of God, and not rather reckoned as a bringing of strange fire before the Lord, seeing it is performed at best by the strength of natural and acquired parts, and not by the strength and assistance of the Holy Ghost, which was typified by the fire that came down from heaven, which alone behoved to consume the sacrifice and no other?*

Lev. xvi. 1.

6. *Whether duties gone about in the mere strength of natural and acquired parts, whether in public or private, be not as really, upon the matter, an image of man's invention as the* popish *worship, though not so gross in the outward appearance? And therefore whether it be not as real superstition to countenance any worship of that nature, as it is to countenance* popish *worship, though there be a difference in the degree?*

7. *Whether it be a ground of offence or just scandal to countenance the worship of those whose professed principle it is neither to speak for edification, nor to pray, but as the Holy Ghost shall be pleased to assist them in some measure less or more; without which they rather choose to be silent, than to speak without this influence?*

Unto these they answered but very coldly and faintly, whose answers likewise long ago he refuted.

We must not lose our witnessing for God.

Seeing then God hath called us to his spiritual worship, and to testify against the human and voluntary worships of the apostacy, if we did not this way stand immoveable to the *truth* re-

vealed, but should join with them, both our testimony for God would be weakened and lost, and it would be impossible steadily to propagate this worship in the world, whose progress we dare neither retard nor hinder by any act of ours; though therefore we shall lose not only worldly honour, but even our lives. And truly many *Protestants*, through their unsteadiness in this thing, for politic ends complying with the *Popish abominations*, have greatly scandalized their profession, and hurt the reformation; as appeared in the example of the *Elector* of *Saxony;* who, in the convention at *Augsburg*, in the year 1530, being commanded by the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth to be present at the *mass*, that he might carry the sword before him, according to his place; which when he justly scrupled to perform, his preachers taking more care for their prince's honour than for his conscience, persuaded him that it was lawful to do it against his conscience. Which was both a very bad example, and great scandal to the reformation, and displeased many; as the author of the *History* of the *Council* of *Trent*, in his first book, well observes. But now I hasten to the objections of our adversaries against this method of praying.

Elector of Saxony's scandal given to Protestants.

Secondly, Objections against spiritual prayer answered.

§. XXV. First; They object, *That if such particular influences were needful to outward acts of worship, then they should also be needful to inward acts, to wit, desire and love to God. But this is absurd; Therefore also that from whence it follows.* Obj. 1.

I answer; That which was said in the *state* of the *controversy* cleareth this; because, as to those general duties, there never wants an influence, so long as the day of a man's visitation lasteth; during which time *God is always near* to him, and *wrestling* with him by his Spirit, to turn him to himself; so that if he do but stand still, and cease from his evil thoughts, the Lord is near to help him, &c. But as to the outward acts of prayer, they need a Answ.

more special motion and influence, as hath been proved.

Obj. 2. Secondly; They object, *That it might be also alleged, that men ought not to do moral duties, as children to honour their parents, men to do right to their neighbours, except the Spirit move them to it.*

Answ. I answer; There is a great difference betwixt these general duties betwixt man and man, and the particular express acts of worship towards God: the one is merely spiritual, and commanded by God to be performed by his Spirit; the other answer their end, as to them whom they are immediately directed to and concern, though done from a mere natural principle of self-love; even as *beasts* have natural affections one to another, and therefore may be thus performed. Though I shall not deny, but that they are not works accepted of God, or beneficial to the soul, but as they are done in the fear of God, and in his blessing, in which his children do all things, and therefore are accepted and blessed in whatsoever they do.

Obj. 3. Thirdly; They object, *That if a wicked man ought not to pray without a motion of the Spirit, because his prayer would be sinful; neither ought he to plough by the same reason, because the* ploughing of the wicked, *as well as his praying*, is sin.

Prov. xxi. 4.

Answ. This objection is of the same nature with the former, and therefore may be answered the same way; seeing there is a great difference betwixt natural acts, such as *eating*, *drinking*, *sleeping*, and *seeking sustenance for the body*, (which things man hath common with beasts,) and spiritual acts. And it doth not follow, because man ought not to go about *spiritual acts* without the Spirit, that therefore he may not go about *natural acts* without it. The *analogy* holds better thus, and that for the proof of our affirmation, That as man for the going about natural acts needs his natural spirit; so to perform spiritual acts he needs the Spirit of

How acts of nature differ from the Spirit's.

God. That the *natural acts* of the wicked and unregenerate are *sinful*, is not denied; though not as in themselves, but in so far as man in that state is in all things reprobated in the sight of God.

Fourthly; They object, *That wicked men may, according to this doctrine, forbear to pray for years together, alleging, they want a motion to it.* Obj. 4.

I answer; The false pretences of wicked men do nothing invalidate the truth of this doctrine; for at that rate there is no doctrine of Christ, which men might not set aside. That *they ought not to pray without the Spirit*, is granted; but then they ought to come to that place of *watching*, where they may be capable to feel the Spirit's motion. They *sin* indeed in not *praying;* but the cause of this *sin* is their not *watching:* so their neglect proceeds not from this doctrine, but from their disobedience to it; seeing if they did pray without this, it would be a double sin, and no fulfilling of the command to *pray:* nor yet would their *prayer*, without this Spirit, be useful unto them. And this our adversaries are forced to acknowledge in another case: for they say, *It is a duty incumbent on Christians to frequent the sacrament of the Lord's supper*, as they call it; yet they say, *No man ought to take it unworthily:* yea, they plead, that such as find themselves unprepared, must abstain; and therefore do usually *excommunicate* them from the table. Now, though according to them it be necessary to partake of this sacrament; yet it is also necessary that those that do it, do first examine themselves, lest they eat and drink their own condemnation: and though they reckon it *sinful* for them to forbear, yet they account it more *sinful* for them to do it without this examination. Answ. That wicked men neglect the motions of the Spirit to pray.

Fifthly; They object *Acts* viii. 22. *where* Peter *commanded* Simon Magus, *that wicked sorcerer, to* Obj. 5.

pray; from thence inferring, *That wicked men may and ought to pray.*

Answ. I answer; That in the citing of this place, as I have often observed, they omit the first and chiefest part of the verse, which is thus, *Acts* viii. verse 22. *Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee:* so here he bids him first *Repent.* Now the least measure of true repentance cannot be without somewhat of that inward retirement of the mind which we speak of: and indeed were true repentance goeth first, we do not doubt but the Spirit of God will be near to concur with, and influence such to pray to and call upon God.

The sorcerer may pray, but not without repentance.

Obj. 6. And Lastly; They object, *That many prayers begun without the Spirit have proved effectual; and that the prayers of wicked men have been heard, and found acceptable, as* Ahab's.

Answ. This objection was before solved. For the acts of God's compassion and indulgence at some times, and to some persons, upon singular extraordinary occasions, are not to be a rule of our actions. For if we should make that the measure of our obedience, great inconveniences would follow; as is evident, and will be acknowledged by all. Next, we do not deny, but wicked men are sensible of the motions and operations of God's Spirit oftentimes, before their day be expired; from which they may at times pray acceptably; not as remaining altogether wicked, but as entering into piety, from whence they afterwards fall away.

III. Of singing psalms.

§. XXVI. As to the *singing of psalms,* there will not be need of any long discourse; for that the case is just the same as in the two former of *preaching* and *prayer.* We confess this to be a part of God's worship, and very sweet and refreshing, when it proceeds from a true sense of God's love in the heart, and arises from the divine influence of the Spirit, which leads souls to

breathe forth either a sweet harmony, or words suitable to the present condition; whether they be words formerly used by the saints, and recorded in scripture, such as the *Psalms* of *David*, or other words; as were the hymns and songs of *Zacharias*, *Simeon*, and the blessed Virgin *Mary*. But as for the formal customary way of *singing*, it hath no foundation in scripture, nor any ground in true Christianity: yea, besides all the abuses incident to *prayer* and *preaching*, it hath this more peculiar, that oftentimes great and horrid lies are said in the sight of God: for all manner of wicked profane people take upon them to personate the experiences and conditions of blessed *David;* which are not only false, as to them, but also to some of more sobriety, who utter them forth: as where they will sing sometimes, *Psalm* xxii. 14.—*My heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels:* and verse 15. *My strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue cleaveth to my jaws; and thou hast brought me into the dust of death:* and *Psalm* vi. 6. *I am weary with my groaning, all the night make I my bed to swim: I water my couch with my tears:* and many more, which those that speak know to be false, as to them. And sometimes will confess just after, in their prayers, that they are guilty of the vices opposite to those virtues, which but just before they have asserted themselves endued with. Who can suppose that God accepts of such juggling? And indeed such *singing* doth more please the carnal ears of men, than the pure ears of the Lord, who abhors all lying and hypocrisy.

A sweet harmonious sound.

But formal singing has no ground in scripture.

Profane singing of David's conditions refuted.

That *singing* then that pleaseth him must proceed from that which is *PURE in the heart*, (even from the *Word of Life* therein,) in and by which, richly dwelling in us, *spiritual songs* and *hymns* are returned to the Lord, according to that of the apostle, *Col.* iii. 16.

Artificial music.

But as to their *artificial music*, either by organs, or other instruments, or voice, we have neither example nor precept for it in the New Testament.

§. XXVII. But Lastly; The great advantage of this true *worship of God*, which we profess and practise, is, that it consisteth not in man's wisdom, arts, or industry; neither needeth the glory, pomp, riches, nor splendor of this world to beautify it, as being of a spiritual and heavenly nature; and therefore too simple and contemptible to the natural mind and will of man, that hath no delight to abide in it, because he finds no room there for his imaginations and inventions, and hath not the opportunity to gratify his outward and carnal senses: so that this form being observed, is not likely to be long kept pure without the power; for it is of itself so naked without it, that it hath nothing in it to invite and tempt men to dote upon it, further than it is accompanied with the power. Whereas the worship of our adversaries, being performed in their own wills, is self-pleasing, as in which they can largely exercise their natural parts and invention: and so (as to most of them) having somewhat of an outward and worldly splendor, delectable to the carnal and worldly senses, they can pleasantly continue it, and satisfy themselves, though without the Spirit and power; which they make no ways essential to the performance of their worship, and therefore neither wait for, nor expect it.

No splendor of this world attends this inward worship.

The carnal worship pleases self.

The worship of the Quakers.

§. XXVIII. So that to conclude, The worship, preaching, praying, and singing, which we plead for, *is such as proceedeth from the Spirit of God, and is always accompanied with its influence, being begun by its motion, and carried on by the power and strength thereof; and so is a* worship *purely spiritual:* such as the scripture holds forth, *John* iv. 23, 24. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 15. *Eph.* vi. 18. &c.

But the worship, preaching, praying, and singing, which our adversaries plead for, and which we oppose, *is a worship which is both begun, carried on, and concluded, in man's own natural* will *and* strength, *without the motion or influence of God's Spirit, which they judge they need not wait for; and therefore may be truly performed, both as to the matter and manner, by the* wickedest of men. *Such was the worship and vain oblations* which God always rejected, as appears from *Isai.* lxvi. 3. *Jer.* xiv. 12. &c. *Isai.* i. 13. *Prov.* xv. 29. *John* ix. 31. Our adversaries' worship.

PROPOSITION XII.

Concerning Baptism.

As there is *one Lord*, and *one faith*, so there is *one baptism; which is not the putting away the* filth *of the* flesh, *but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.* And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and Fire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins, we may *walk in newness of life:* of which the baptism of *John* was a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever. As to the baptism of *infants*, it is a mere human tradition, for which neither *precept* nor *practice* is to be found in all the scripture. Eph. iv. 5. 1Pet. iii 21. Rom. vi. 4. Gal. iii 27. Col. ii. 12. John iii. 30 1Cor. i. 17.

§. I. I DID sufficiently demonstrate, in the explanation and proof of the former proposition, how greatly the *professors* of *Christianity*, as well *Protestants* as *Papists*, were degenerated in the matter of *worship*, and how much strangers to, and averse from, that true and acceptable *worship* that is performed in the *Spirit of Truth*, be-

cause of man's natural propensity in his fallen state to exalt his own *inventions*, and to intermix his own *work* and *product* in the service of God: and from this root sprung all the idle worships, idolatries, and numerous superstitious inventions among the *heathens*. For when God, in condescension to his chosen people the *Jews*, did prescribe to them by his servant *Moses* many *ceremonies* and *observations*, as *types* and *shadows* of the *substance*, which in due time was to be revealed; which consisted for the most part in washings, outward purifications, and cleansings, which were to continue until the time of *reformation*, until the *spiritual worship* should be set up; and that God, by the more plentiful pouring forth of his *Spirit*, and guiding of that *anointing*, should lead his *children into all truth*, and teach them to worship him in a way more spiritual and acceptable to him, though less agreeable to the carnal and outward senses; yet, notwithstanding *God's condescension* to the *Jews* in such things, we see that that part in man, which delights to follow its own *inventions*, could not be restrained, nor yet satisfied with all these *observations*, but that oftentimes they would be either declining to the other *superstitions* of the *Gentiles*, or adding some new observations and ceremonies of their own; to which they were so devoted, that they were still apt to prefer them before the commands of God, and that under the notion of *zeal* and *piety*. This we see abundantly in the example of the *Pharisees*, the chiefest sect among the *Jews*, whom Christ so frequently reproves *for making void the commandments of God by their traditions*, Matth. xv. 6, 9, &c. This complaint may at this day be no less justly made as to many bearing the *name* of *Christians*, who have introduced many things of this kind, partly borrowed from the *Jews*, which they more tenaciously stick to, and more earnestly contend for, than for the weightier points

From whence idolatries & heathen superstitions did spring.

The Pharisees the chiefest among the Jews.

of *Christianity;* because that *self*, yet alive, and ruling in them, loves their own *inventions* better than God's *commands*. But if they can by any means stretch any *scripture practice*, or *conditional precept* or *permission*, fitted to the weakness or capacity of some, or appropriate to some particular dispensation, to give some colour for any of these their *inventions;* they do then so tenaciously stick to them, and so obstinately and obstreperously plead for them, that they will not patiently hear the most solid *Christian* reasons against them. Which zeal, if they would but seriously examine it, they would find to be but the prejudice of *education*, and the love of *self*, more than that of *God*, or his *pure worship*. This is verified concerning those things which are called *sacraments*, about which they are very ignorant in *religious controversies*, who understand not how much debate, contention, jangling, and quarrelling there has been among those called *Christians:* so that I may safely say the *controversy* about them, to wit, about their *number*, *nature*, *virtue*, *efficacy*, *administration*, and other things, hath been more than about any other *doctrine* of *Christ*, whether as betwixt *Papists* and *Protestants*, or among *Protestants* betwixt themselves. And how great prejudice these *controversies* have brought to *Christians* is very obvious; whereas the things contended for among them are for the most part but empty shadows, and mere outside things: as I hope hereafter to make appear to the patient and unprejudicate reader.

Many things in Christendom are borrowed from the Jews and Gentiles.

Of sacraments so many controversies.

§. II. That which comes first under observation, is the name [*sacrament*], which it is strange that *Christians* should stick to and contend so much for, since it is not to be found in all the *scripture;* but was borrowed from the *military oaths* among the *heathens*, from whom the *Christians*, when they began to *apostatize*, did borrow many *superstitious terms* and *observations*, that they might thereby ingratiate

The name of sacrament (not found in scripture) is borrowed from the heathen.

themselves, and the more easily gain the *heathens* to their *religion;* which practice, though perhaps intended by them for good, yet, as being the fruit of *human policy*, and not according to *God's wisdom*, has had very pernicious consequences. I see not how any, whether *Papists* or *Protestants*, especially the latter, can in reason quarrel with us for denying this term, which it seems the Spirit of God saw not meet to inspire the penmen of the scriptures to leave unto us.

Obj. 1. But if it be said, That *it is not the name, but the thing they contend for;*

Answ. I answer; Let the name then, as not being *scriptural*, be laid aside, and we shall see at first entrance how much benefit will redound by laying aside this traditional term, and betaking us to plainness of *scripture-language.* For presently the great contest about the number of them will vanish; seeing there is no term used in scripture that can be made use of, whether we call them *institutions, ordinances, precepts, commandments, appointments*, or *laws, &c.* that would afford ground for such a debate; since neither will *Papists* affirm, that there are only *seven*, or *Protestants* only *two*, of any of these aforementioned.

Obj. 2. If it be said, That this *controversy arises from the definition of the thing, as well as from the name;*

Answ. It will be found otherwise: for whatever way we take their definition of a *sacrament*, whether as an *outward visible sign, whereby inward grace is conferred, or only signified*, this definition will agree to many things, which neither *Papists* nor *Protestants* will acknowledge to be *sacraments.* If they be expressed under the name of *sealing ordinances*, as by some they are, I could never see, either by reason or scripture, how this title could be appropriate to them, more than to any other *Christian, religious performance:* for that must needs properly be a *sealing ordinance*, which makes the

The definition of sacrament agrees to many other things.

What sealing ordinance doth mean.

persons receiving it *infallibly certain of the promise* or thing *sealed to them.*

If it be said, *It is so to them that are faithful;* Obj. 3.

I answer; So is praying and preaching, and doing of every good work. Seeing the partaking or performing of the one gives not to any a more certain title to heaven, yea, in some respect, not so much, there is no reason to call them so, more than the other. Answ.

Besides, we find not any thing called the *seal* and *pledge* of our *inheritance*, but the *Spirit* of *God.* It is by that we are said to be sealed, Eph. i. 14. and iv. 30. which is also termed the *earnest of our inheritance*, 2 Cor. i. 22. and not by *outward water*, or *eating* and *drinking;* which as the wickedest of men may partake of, so many that do, do, notwithstanding it, go to perdition. For it is not *outward washing with water* that maketh the *heart clean*, by which men are fitted for heaven: and as that *which goeth into the mouth doth not defile a man, because it is put forth again*, and so goeth to the *dunghill;* neither doth any thing which man eateth purify him, or fit him for heaven. What is said here in general may serve for an introduction, not only to this proposition, but also to the other concerning the *supper.* Of these *sacraments* (so called) *baptism* is always first numbered, which is the subject of the present proposition; in whose explanation I shall first demonstrate and prove our judgment, and then answer the objections, and refute the sentiments of our opposers. As to the first part, these things following, which are briefly comprehended in the proposition, come to be proposed and proved.

That outward washing doth not cleanse the heart.

Part I.

§. III. First: *There is but one baptism*, as well as but *one Lord, one faith, &c.* Prop. I.

Secondly, *That this one baptism, which is the baptism of Christ, is not a washing with, or dipping in water, but a being baptized by the Spirit.* Pr. II.

Pr. III. Thirdly, *That the baptism of* John *was but a figure of this; and therefore, as the figure, to give place to the substance; which though it be to continue, yet the other ceaseth.*

Prop. I. One baptism proved.

As for the first, viz. *That there is but one baptism*, there needs no other proof than the words of the text, *Eph.* iv. 5. *One Lord, one faith, one baptism:* where the apostle positively and plainly affirms, that as there is but *one body, one Spirit, one faith, one God, &c.* so there is but *one baptism.*

Obj. 1. As to what is commonly alleged by way of explanation upon the text, *That the baptism of water and of the Spirit make up this one baptism, by virtue of the sacramental union;*

Answ. I answer; This exposition hath taken place, not because grounded upon the testimony of the scripture, but because it wrests the scripture to make it suit to their principle of *water-baptism;* and so there needs no other reply, but to deny it, as being repugnant to the plain words of the text; which saith not, *that there are two baptisms*, to wit, one of *water*, the other of the *Spirit*, which do make up *one baptism;* but plainly, *that there is one baptism*, as there is *one faith*, and *one God.* Now as there go not *two faiths*, nor *two gods*, nor *two spirits*, nor *two bodies*, whereof the one is outward and elementary, and the other spiritual and pure, to the making up the *one faith*, the *one God*, the *one body*, and the *one Spirit;* so neither ought there to go *two baptisms* to make up the *one baptism.*

Whether two baptisms make up the one.

Obj. 2. But secondly, if it be said, *The baptism is but one, whereof water is the one part, to wit, the sign; and the Spirit, the thing signified, the other;*

Answ. I answer; This yet more confirmeth our doctrine: for if water be only the *sign*, it is not the *matter* of the *one baptism*, (as shall further hereafter by its definition in scripture appear,) and we are to take the *one baptism* for the *matter* of it, not for the *sign*, or *figure* and *type* that went before.

If water be the type, the substance must remain.

Even as where Christ is called the *one offering* in scripture, though he was typified by many *sacrifices* and *offerings* under the law, we understand only by the *one offering*, his offering himself upon the cross; whereof though those many *offerings* were signs and types, yet we say not that they go together with that *offering of Christ*, to make up the *one offering:* so neither, though *water-baptism* was a sign of Christ's *baptism*, will it follow, that it goeth now to make up the *baptism of Christ.* If any should be so absurd as to affirm, *That this one baptism here was the baptism of water, and not of the Spirit;* that were foolishly to contradict the positive testimony of the scripture, which saith the contrary; as by what followeth will more amply appear.

Secondly, *That this* one baptism, *which is the* baptism *of* Christ, *is not a washing with water*, appears, first, from the testimony of *John*, the proper and peculiar administrator of water-baptism, *Mat.* iii. 11. *I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.* Here *John* mentions two manners of *baptizing*, and two different *baptisms;* the one with water, and the other with the Spirit; the one whereof he was the minister of, the other whereof Christ was the minister of: and such as were baptized with the first, were not therefore baptized with the second: *I indeed baptize you, but he shall baptize you.* Though in the present time they were baptized with the baptism of water; yet they were not as yet, but were to be, baptized with the baptism of Christ. From all which I thus argue:

Pr. II.

Proof 1.

The difference between John's baptism & Christ's.

If those that were baptized with the baptism of water, were not therefore baptized with the baptism of Christ; then the baptism of water is not the baptism of Christ:

Arg. 1.

But the first is true;
Therefore also the last.

And again,

Arg. 2. If he, that truly and really administered the baptism of water, did notwithstanding declare, that he neither could, nor did, baptize with the baptism of Christ; then the baptism of water is not the baptism of Christ:

But the first is true;
Therefore, &c.

And indeed to understand it otherwise, would make *John's* words void of good sense: for if their baptisms had been all one, why should he have so precisely contra-distinguished them? Why should he have said, that those whom he had already baptized, should yet be baptized with another baptism?

Object. If it be urged, *That baptism with water was the one part, and that with the Spirit the other part, or effect only of the former;*

Answ. I answer; This exposition contradicts the plain words of the text. For he saith not, *I baptize you with water, and he that cometh after me shall produce the effects of this my baptism in you by the Spirit, &c.* or *he shall accomplish this baptism in you;* but, *He shall baptize you.* So then, if we understand the words truly and properly, when he saith, *I baptize you*, as consenting that thereby is really signified that he did baptize with the baptism of water; we must needs, unless we offer violence to the text, understand the other part of the sentence the same way; *viz.* where he adds presently, *But he shall baptize you, &c.* that he understood it of their being truly to be baptized with another baptism, than what he did baptize with: else it had been nonsense for him thus to have contra-distinguished them.

One baptism is no part, nor effect of the other.

Pr. II. Secondly, This is further confirmed by the saying of Christ himself, *Acts* i. 4, 5. *But wait for the*

promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me: for John *truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.* There can scarce two places of scripture run more parallel than this doth with the former, a little before mentioned; and therefore concludeth the same way as did the other. For Christ here grants fully that *John* completed his baptism, as to the matter and substance of it: *John*, saith he, *truly baptized with water;* which is as much as if he had said, *John* did truly and fully administer the baptism of water; *But ye shall be baptized with, &c.* This showeth that they were to be baptized with some other baptism than the baptism of water; and that although they were formerly baptized with the baptism of water, yet not with that of Christ, which they were to be baptized with.

Who were baptized by John were still to wait for Christ's baptism with the Spirit.

Pr. III.

Thirdly, *Peter* observes the same distinction, *Acts* xi. 16. *Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.* The apostle makes this application upon the *Holy Ghost's* falling upon them; whence he infers, that they were then baptized with the baptism of the Spirit. As to what is urged from his calling afterwards for *water*, it shall be spoken to hereafter. From all which *three sentences*, relative one to another, first of *John*, secondly of *Christ*, and thirdly of *Peter*, it doth evidently follow, that such as were truly and really baptized with the baptism of water, were notwithstanding not baptized with the baptism of the Spirit, which is that of Christ; and such as truly and really did administer the baptism of water, did, in so doing, not administer the baptism of Christ. So that if there be now but *one baptism*, as we have already proved, we may safely conclude that it is that of the *Spirit*, and not of *water;* else it would follow, that the *one baptism*, which now continues, were the *baptism of water*, i. e. *John's*

The baptism with the Holy Ghost and that with water differ.

baptism, and not the *baptism of the Spirit*, i. e. *Christ's;* which were most absurd.

Object. If it be said further, *That though the baptism of* John, *before* Christ's *was administered, was different from it, as being the figure only; yet now, that both it as the figure, and that of the Spirit as the substance, is necessary to make up the one baptism;*

I answer; This urgeth nothing, unless it be granted also that both of them belong to the essence of *baptism;* so that *baptism* is not to be accounted as truly administered, where both are not; which none of our adversaries will acknowledge: but on the contrary, account not only all those truly baptized with the *baptism of Christ*, who are baptized with *water*, though they be uncertain whether they be baptized with the *Spirit*, or not; but they even account such truly baptized with the *baptism* of *Christ*, because *sprinkled*, or baptized with water, though it be manifest and most certain that they are not baptized with the Spirit, as being enemies thereunto in their hearts by wicked works. So here, by their own confession, *baptism with water* is without the Spirit. Wherefore we may far safer conclude, that the *baptism of the Spirit*, which is that of *Christ*, is and may be without that of *water;* as appears in that of *Acts* xi. where *Peter* testifies of these men, that *they were baptized with the Spirit*, though then not *baptized with water*. And indeed the controversy in this, as in most other things, stands betwixt us and our opposers, in that they oftentimes prefer the form and shadow to the power and substance; by denominating persons as inheritors and possessors of the thing, from their having the form and shadow, though really wanting the power and substance; and not admitting those to be so denominated, who have the power and substance, if they want the form and shadow. This appears evidently, in that they account those truly *baptized*

Water-baptism is not the true baptism of Christ.

with the *one baptism of Christ*, who are not baptized with the *Spirit* (which in scripture is particularly called the *baptism of Christ*) if they be only baptized with water, which themselves yet confess to be but the shadow or figure. And moreover, in that they account not those who are surely baptized with the *baptism of the Spirit* baptized, neither will they have them so denominated, unless they be also *sprinkled* with, or *dipped* in, water: but we, on the contrary, do always prefer the power to the form, the substance to the shadow; and where the substance and power is, we doubt not to denominate the person accordingly, though the form be wanting. And therefore we always seek first, and plead for the substance and power, as knowing that to be indispensably necessary, though the form sometimes may be dispensed with, and the figure or type may cease, when the substance and anti-type come to be enjoyed, as it doth in this case, which shall hereafter be made appear.

The baptism of the Spirit needeth no sprinkling or dipping in water.

§. IV. Fourthly, That the *one baptism of Christ* is not a washing with water, appears from 1 *Pet.* iii. 21. *The like figure* whereunto even baptism doth also now save us: not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.* So plain a definition of *baptism* is not in all the bible; and therefore, seeing it is so plain, it may well be preferred to all the coined definitions of the schoolmen. The apostle tells us first *negatively* what it is not, viz. *Not a putting away of the filth of the flesh:* then surely it is not a *washing* with water, since that is so. Secondly, he tells us *affirmatively* what it is, viz. *The answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ:* where he affirmatively defines it to be the *answer* (or *confession*, as the *Syriac* version hath it) *of a good conscience.* Now this *answer* cannot be but where the

Pr. IV

* Or, as it should be translated, *Whose model baptism does also now save us.*

The plainest definition of the baptism of Christ in all the bible.

Spirit of God hath purified the soul, and the fire of his judgments hath burned up the unrighteous nature; and those in whom this work is wrought may be truly said to be *baptized with the baptism of Christ*, i. e. *of the Spirit and of fire.* Whatever way then we take this definition of the apostle of *Christ's baptism*, it confirmeth our sentence: for if we take the first or negative part, viz. *That it is not a putting away of the filth of the flesh*, then it will follow that *water baptism* is not it, because that is *a putting away of the filth of the flesh.* If we take the second and affirmative definition, to wit, *That it is the answer* or confession *of a good conscience, &c.* then *water-baptism* is not it; since, as our adversaries will not deny, *water-baptism* doth not always imply it, neither is it any necessary consequence thereof. Moreover, the apostle in this place doth seem especially to guard against those that might esteem *water-baptism* the true *baptism of Christ;* because (lest by the comparison induced by him in the preceding verse, betwixt the souls that were saved in *Noah's* ark, and us that are now saved by *baptism;* lest, I say, any should have thence hastily concluded, that because the former were saved by *water*, this place must needs be taken to speak of *water-baptism.*) to prevent such a mistake, he plainly affirms, that it is not that, but another thing. He saith not that it is the *water*, or *the putting away of the filth of the flesh, as accompanied with the answer of a good conscience, whereof the one*, viz. *water, is the sacramental element, administered by the minister; and the other, the grace or thing signified, conferred by Christ;* but plainly, *That it is not the putting away, &c.* than which there can be nothing more manifest to men unprejudicate and judicious. Moreover *Peter* calls this here which saves ἀντίτυπον, the *anti-type*, or the *thing figured;* whereas it is usually translated, as if *the like figure did now save us;* thereby insinuating that as they were saved by water in the ark, so are

Water-baptism shut out from the baptism of Christ.

we now by *water-baptism*. But this interpretation crosseth his sense, he presently after declaring the contrary, as hath above been observed; and likewise it would contradict the opinion of all our opposers. For *Protestants* deny it to be absolutely necessary to salvation; and though *Papists* say, *none are saved without it*, yet in this they admit an exception, as of *martyrs*, &c. and they will not say that all that have it are saved by *water-baptism*; which they ought to say, if they will understand by *baptism*, (by which the apostle saith we are saved,) *water-baptism*. For seeing we are saved *by this baptism*, as all those that were in the ark *were saved by water*, it would then follow, that all those that have this *baptism* are saved by it. Now this consequence would be false, if it were understood of *water-baptism*; because many, by the confession of all, are *baptized* with *water* that are not saved; but this consequence holds most true, if it be understood, as we do, of the *baptism* of the *Spirit*; since none can have this answer of a good conscience, and, abiding in it, not be saved by it.

The Protestants denying water-baptism its absolute necessity to men's salvation; although the Papists say none can be saved without it, yet grant exceptions.

Fifthly, *That the one baptism of Christ is not a washing with water*, as it hath been proved by the definition of the *one baptism*, so it is also manifest from the necessary fruits and effects of it, which are three times particularly expressed by the apostle *Paul*; as first, *Rom.* vi. 3, 4. where he saith, *That so many of them as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death, buried with him by baptism into death, that they should walk in newness of life*. Secondly, to the *Galatians* iii. 27. he saith positively, *For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ*. And Thirdly, to the *Colossians* ii. 12. he saith, That they were *buried with him in baptism*, and risen *with him through the faith of the operation of God*. It is to be observed here, that the apostle speaks generally, without

Pr. V.

The effects & fruits of the baptism of Christ.

any *exclusive term*, but *comprehensive* of all. He saith not, *some of you that were baptized into Christ, have put on Christ*, but *as many of you;* which is as much as if he had said, *Every one of you that hath been baptized into Christ, hath put on Christ.* Whereby it is evident that this is not meant of *water-baptism*, but of the *baptism* of the *Spirit;* because else it would follow, that whosoever had been *baptized* with *water-baptism* had put on *Christ*, and were *risen* with him, which all acknowledge to be most absurd. Now supposing all the visible members of the churches of *Rome*, *Galatia*, and *Colosse* had been outwardly baptized with water, (I do not say they were, but our adversaries will not only readily grant it, but also contend for it,) suppose, I say, the case so, they will not say they had *all put on Christ*, since divers expressions in these *epistles* to them show the contrary. So that the apostle cannot mean *baptism* with *water;* and yet that he meaneth the *baptism* of *Christ*, i. e. *of the Spirit*, cannot be denied; or that the *baptism* wherewith these were *baptized* (of whom the apostle here testifies that they had *put on Christ*) was the *one baptism*, I think none will call in question. Now admit, as our adversaries contend, that many in these churches who had been *baptized* with *water* had not *put on Christ*, it will follow, that notwithstanding that *water-baptism*, they were not baptized *into Christ*, or with the baptism of *Christ*, seeing *as many of them as were baptized* into *Christ had put on Christ*, &c. From all which I thus argue:

Which effects water baptism wants.

Arg. 1. *If the* baptism *with* water *were the* one baptism, i. e. *the* baptism *of* Christ, *as many as were baptized with* water *would have put on* Christ:

But the *last* is false,

Therefore also the *first*.

And again:

Since as many as are baptized into Christ, *i. e. with the* one baptism; *which is the* baptism *of* Christ, *have put on* Christ, *then* water-baptism *is not the* one baptism, *viz. the* baptism *of* Christ. Arg. 2.

But the *first* is true,

Therefore also the *last*.

§. V. Thirdly, *Since* John's baptism *was a figure, and seeing the figure gives way to the substance, although the thing figured remain*, to wit, *the* one baptism *of* Christ, *yet the other ceaseth, which was the* baptism *of* John. Pr. III. Proved.

That *John's* baptism was a figure of *Christ's* baptism, I judge will not readily be denied; but in case it should, it can easily be proved from the nature of it. *John's* baptism was *a being baptized with water*, but *Christ's* is *a baptizing with the Spirit;* therefore *John's* baptism must have been a figure of *Christ's*. But further, that water-baptism was *John's* baptism, will not be denied: that water-baptism is not *Christ's* baptism, is already proved. From which doth arise the confirmation of our proposition thus: I. John's baptism was a figure of Christ's.

There is no baptism to continue now, but the *one baptism* of Christ.

Therefore *water-baptism* is not to continue now, because it is not the one baptism of *Christ*.

That *John's* baptism is ceased, many of our adversaries confess; but if any should allege it is otherwise, it may be easily proved by the express words of *John*, not only as being insinuated there, where he contra-distinguisheth his baptism from that of *Christ*, but particularly where he saith, *John* iii. 30. *He* [Christ] *must increase, but I* [John] *must decrease*. From whence it clearly follows, that the *increasing* or taking place of *Christ's* baptism is the *decreasing* or abolishing of *John's* baptism; so that if water-baptism was a particular part of *John's* ministry, and is no part of *Christ's* II. John's baptism is ceased our opposers confess.

baptism, as we have already proved, it will necessarily follow that it is not to continue.

Arg. Secondly, *If* water-baptism *had been to continue a perpetual ordinance of Christ in his church, he would either have practised it himself, or commanded his apostles so to do.*

But that he practised it not, the *scripture* plainly affirms, *John* iv. 2. And that he commanded his disciples to *baptize* with *water*, I could never yet read. As for what is alleged, that, *Mat.* xxviii. 19, &c. where he bids them *baptize*, is to be understood of *water-baptism*, that is but to beg the question, and the grounds for that shall be hereafter examined.

Therefore to baptize *with* water *is no perpetual ordinance of Christ to his church.*

This hath had the more weight with me, because I find not any standing *ordinance* or *appointment* of *Christ* necessary to Christians, for which we have not either Christ's own practice or command, as to obey all the commandments which comprehend both our duty towards God and man, &c. and where the *gospel* requires more than the *law*, which is abundantly signified in the 5th and 6th chapters of *Matthew*, and elsewhere. Besides, as to the duties of worship, he exhorts us to meet, promising his presence; commands to *pray*, *preach*, *watch*, &c. and gives precepts concerning some temporary things, as the *washing* of *one another's feet*, the *breaking* of *bread*, hereafter to be discussed; only for this one thing of *baptizing* with *water*, though so earnestly contended for, we find not any precept of Christ.

III. The gospel puts an end to carnal ordinances.

§. VI. But to make water-baptism a necessary *institution* of the *Christian religion*, which is pure and spiritual, and not carnal and ceremonial, is to derogate from the *new covenant dispensation*, and set up the *legal rites* and *ceremonies*, of which this of *baptism*, or *washing* with *water*, was one, as ap-

pears from *Heb.* ix. 10. where the apostle speaking thereof saith, that it stood *only in meats and drinks, and divers baptisms, and carnal ordinances, imposed until the time of reformation.* If then the time of reformation, or the dispensation of the *gospel*, which puts an end to the shadows, be come, then such *baptisms* and carnal *ordinances* are no more to be imposed. For how baptism with *water* comes now to be a *spiritual ordinance*, more than before in the time of the *law*, doth not appear, seeing it is but *water* still, and a washing of the outward man, and a putting away of the filth of the flesh still: and, as before, those that were so washed, were not thereby made perfect, as pertaining to the *conscience*, neither are they at this day, as our adversaries must needs acknowledge, and experience abundantly showeth. So that the matter of it, which is a washing with water, and the effect of it, which is only an outward cleansing, being still the same, how comes water-baptism to be less a carnal ordinance now than before?

If it be said, That *God confers inward grace upon some that are now baptized;* Obj. 1.

So no doubt he did also upon some that used those baptisms among the *Jews.* Answ.

Or if it be said, *Because it is commanded by Christ now, under the new covenant;* Obj. 2.

I answer, First, That is to beg the question; of which hereafter. Answ.

But Secondly, We find that where the matter of ordinances is the same, and the end the same, they are never accounted more or less spiritual, because of their different times. Now was not God the author of the *purifications* and *baptisms* under the *law?* Was not water the matter of them, which is so now? Was not the end of them to signify an inward purifying by an outward washing? And is not that alleged to be the end still? And are the necessary effects or consequences of it

Men are no more now than before by water baptism inwardly cleansed.

any better now than before, since men are now, by the virtue of water-baptism, as a necessary consequence of it, no more than before, made inwardly clean? And if some by God's grace that are baptized with water are inwardly purified, so were some also under the law; so that this is not any necessary consequence or effect, neither of this nor that baptism. It is then plainly repugnant to right reason, as well as to the scripture testimony, to affirm *that* to be a spiritual ordinance now, which was a carnal ordinance before, if it be still the same, both as to its author, matter, and end, however made to vary in some small circumstances. The spirituality of the *new covenant*, and of its *worship* established by Christ, consisted not in such superficial alterations of circumstances, but after another manner. Therefore let our adversaries show us, if they can, without begging the question, and building upon some one or other of their own principles denied by us, where Christ ever appointed or ordained any institution or observation under the *new covenant*, as belonging to the nature of it, or such a necessary part of its *worship* as is perpetually to continue; which being one in substance and effects, (I speak of necessary, not accidental effects,) yet, because of some small difference in form or circumstance, was before carnal, notwithstanding it was commanded by God under the *law*, but now is become spiritual, because commanded by Christ under the *gospel*. And if they cannot do this, then if water-baptism was once a carnal ordinance, as the apostle positively affirms it to have been, it remains a carnal ordinance still; and if a carnal ordinance, then no necessary part of the *gospel* or *new covenant dispensation;* and if no necessary part of it, then not needful to continue, nor to be practised by such as live and walk under this *dispensation*. But in this, as in most other things, ac-

cording as we have often observed our adversaries *judaize*, and renouncing the *glorious* and *spiritual privileges* of the new covenant, are sticking in and cleaving to the rudiments of the old, both in *doctrine* and *worship*, as being more suited and agreeable to their carnal apprehensions and natural senses. But we, on the contrary, travail above all to lay hold upon and cleave unto the *Light* of the *glorious gospel* revealed unto us. And the harmony of the truth we profess in this may appear, by briefly observing how in all things we follow the *spiritual gospel of Christ*, as contra-distinguished from the carnality of the *legal dispensation;* while our adversaries, through rejecting this *gospel*, are still labouring under the burden of the *law*, which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear.

The law distinguished from the gospel.

For the law and rule of the old covenant *and* Jews *was outward, written in tables of stone and parchment;* so also is that of our adversaries. *But the law of the* new covenant *is inward and perpetual, written in the heart;* so is ours.

The outward baptism, worship, law, distinguished from the inward.

The worship of the Jews *was outward and carnal, limited to set times, places, and persons, and performed according to set prescribed forms and observations;* so is that of our adversaries. *But the worship of the* new covenant *is neither limited to time, place, nor person, but is performed in the Spirit and in truth; and it is not acted according to set forms and prescriptions, but as the Spirit of God immediately actuates, moves, and leads, whether it be to preach, pray, or sing;* and such is also our worship.

So likewise the Baptism *among the* Jews *under the law was an* outward washing *with* outward water, *only to typify an inward purification of the soul, which did not necessarily follow upon those that were thus baptized;* but the baptism of Christ under the gospel is the baptism of the Spirit and of fire; *not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a*

good conscience towards God; and such is the baptism that we labour to be baptized withal, and contend for.

Arg. §. VII. But again, If water baptism had been an ordinance of the gospel, then the apostle *Paul* would have been sent to administer it; but he declares positively, 1 *Cor.* i. 17. *That Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.* The reason of that consequence is undeniable, because the apostle *Paul's* commission was as large as that of any of them; and consequently he being in special manner the apostle of Christ to the *Gentiles*, if water-baptism, as our adversaries contend, be to be accounted the *badge* of *Christianity*, he had more need than any of the rest to be sent to baptize with water, that he might mark the *Gentiles* converted by him with that *Christian sign.* But indeed the reason holds better thus, that since *Paul* was the apostle of the *Gentiles*, and that in his ministry he doth through all (as by his *epistles* appears) labour to wean them from the former *Jewish ceremonies* and *observations*, (though in so doing he was sometimes undeservedly judged by others of his brethren, who were unwilling to lay aside those *ceremonies*,) therefore his commission, though as full as to the preaching of the *gospel* and *new covenant dispensation* as that of the other apostles, did not require of him that he should lead those converts into such *Jewish observations* and *baptisms*, however that practice was indulged in and practised by the other apostles among their *Jewish proselytes*, for which cause *he thanks God that he had baptized so few:* intimating that what he did therein he did not by virtue of his apostolic commission, but rather in condescension to their weakness, even as at another time he circumcised *Timothy.*

IV. That water-baptism is no badge of Christians, like circumcision of the Jews.

1 Cor. i. 14.

Paul was not sent to baptize.

Obj. 1. Our adversaries, to evade the truth of this testimony, usually allege, *That by this is only to*

be understood, that he was not sent principally to baptize, not that he was not sent at all.

But this exposition, since it contradicts the positive words of the text, and has no better foundation than the affirmation of its assertors, is justly rejected as *spurious*, until they bring some better proof for it. He saith not, *I was not sent* principally *to baptize*, but *I was* not *sent to baptize.* Answ.

As for what they urge, by way of confirmation, from other places of scripture, where [*not*] is to be so taken, as where it is said, *I will have mercy, and* not *sacrifice*, which is to be understood that God requires principally *mercy*, not excluding *sacrifice:* Confir. Mat. ix. 15. Hos. vi. 6

I say this place is abundantly explained by the following words, [*and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings*]; by which it clearly appears that *burnt-offerings*, which are one with *sacrifices*, are not excluded; but there is no such word added in that of *Paul*, and therefore the parity is not demonstrated to be alike, and consequently the instance not sufficient, unless they can prove that it ought so to be admitted here; else we might interpret by the same rule all other places of scripture the same way, as where the apostle saith, 1 *Cor.* ii. 5. *That your faith might not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God*, it might be understood, it shall not stand *principally so.* How might the gospel, by this liberty of interpretation, be perverted? Refut.

If it be said, *That the abuse of this baptism among the* Corinthians, *in dividing themselves according to the persons by whom they were baptized, made the apostle speak so; but that the abuse of a thing doth not abolish it;* Obj. 2.

I answer, It is true, it doth not, provided the thing be lawful and necessary; and that no doubt the abuse abovesaid gave the apostle occasion so to write. But let it from this be considered how Answ.

the apostle excludes *baptizing*, not *preaching*, though the abuse [mark] proceeded from that, no less than from the other. For these *Corinthians* did denominate themselves from those different persons by whose *preaching* (as well as from those by whom they were *baptized*) they were converted, as by the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of chap. iii. may appear: and yet to remove that abuse the apostle doth not say he was not sent to preach, nor yet doth he rejoice that he had only preached to a few; because *preaching*, being a standing ordinance in the church, is not, because of any abuse that the devil may tempt any to make of it, to be forborne by such as are called to perform it by the Spirit of God: wherefore the apostle accordingly, *chap.* iii. 8, 9. informs them, as to that, how to remove that abuse. But as to water-baptism, for that it was no standing ordinance of Christ, but only practised as in condescension to the *Jews*, and by some apostles to some *Gentiles* also, therefore, so soon as the apostle perceived the abuse of it, he let the *Corinthians* understand how little stress was to be laid upon it, by showing them that he was glad that he had administered this ceremony to so few of them; and by telling them plainly that it was no part of his commission, neither that which he was sent to administer.

That preaching is a standing ordinance, and not to be forborne.

Query. Some ask us, *How we know that baptizing here is meant of* water, *and not of the* Spirit; *which if it be, then it will exclude the baptism of the* Spirit, *as well as of* Water.

Answ. I answer, Such as ask the question, I suppose, speak it not as doubting that this was said of water-baptism, which is more than manifest. For since the apostle *Paul's* message was, *to turn people from darkness to light*, and *convert them to God;* and that as many as are thus turned and converted (*so as to have the answer of a good conscience toward God, and to have put on Christ, and be risen with him in*

That which converts to Christ is the baptism of the Spirit.

newness of life) are baptized with the baptism of the Spirit. But who will say that only those few mentioned there to be baptized by *Paul* were come to this? Or that to turn or bring them to this condition was not, even admitting our adversaries' interpretation, as principal a part of *Paul's* ministry as any other? Since then our adversaries do take this place for *water-baptism*, as indeed it is, we may lawfully, taking it so also, urge it upon them. Why the word *baptism* and *baptizing* is used by the apostle, where that of *water* and not of the *Spirit* is only understood, shall hereafter be spoken to. I come now to consider the reasons alleged by such as plead for *water-baptism*, which are also the objections used against the discontinuance of it. Part II.

§. VIII. First, Some object, *That Christ, who had the Spirit above measure, was notwithstanding baptized with water.* As *Nic. Arnoldus* against this *Thesis*, Sect. 46. of his *Theological Exercitation.* Obj. 1. John iii. 34.

I answer, So was he also *circumcised;* it will not follow from thence that *circumcision* is to continue: for it behoved Christ to fulfil all righteousness, not only the ministry of *John*, but the *law* also, therefore did he observe the *Jewish feasts* and *rites*, and keep the *passover.* It will not thence follow that *Christians* ought to do so now; and therefore Christ, *Mat.* iii. 15. gives *John* this reason of his being baptized, desiring him to *suffer it to be so now;* whereby he sufficiently intimates that he intended not thereby to perpetuate it as an ordinance to his disciples. Answ. Why Christ was baptized by John.

Secondly, They object, *Mat.* xxviii. 19. *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Obj. 2.

This is the great objection, and upon which they build the whole *superstructure;* whereunto the first general and sound *answer* is, by granting the whole; Answ.

What baptism Christ doth mean in Mat. xxviii.

but putting them to prove that *water* is here meant, since the text is silent of it. And though in reason it be sufficient upon our part that we concede the whole expressed in the place, but deny that it is by *water*, which is an addition to the text, yet I shall premise some reasons why we do so, and then consider the reasons alleged by those that will have *water* to be here understood.

Arg. 1. The First is a maxim yielded to by all, *That we ought not to go from the literal signification of the text, except some urgent necessity force us thereunto.*

But no urgent necessity in this place forceth us thereunto:

Therefore we ought not to go from it.

Arg. 2. Secondly, That baptism which Christ commanded his apostles was the one baptism, *id est*, his own baptism:

But the one baptism, which is Christ's baptism, is not with *water*, as we have already proved:

Therefore the baptism commanded by Christ to his apostles was not *water-baptism.*

Arg. 3. Thirdly, That baptism which Christ commanded his apostles was such, that as many as were therewith baptized did put on Christ:

But this is not true of *water-baptism;*

Therefore, &c.

Arg. 4. Fourthly, The baptism commanded by Christ to his apostles was not *John's* baptism:

But baptism with water was *John's* baptism;

Therefore, &c.

Alle. 1. But First, They allege, *That Christ's baptism, though a baptism with water, did differ from* John's, *because* John *only baptized with water unto repentance, but Christ commands his disciples to baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; reckoning that in this form there lieth a great difference betwixt the baptism of* John *and that of* Christ.

I answer, In that *John's* baptism was unto repentance, the difference lieth not there, because so is Christ's also; yea, our adversaries will not deny but that *adult persons* that are to be baptized ought, ere they are admitted to *water-baptism*, to repent, and confess their sins: and that *infants* also, with a respect to and consideration of their baptism, ought to repent and confess; so that the difference lieth not here, since this of repentance and confession agrees as well to *Christ's* as to *John's* baptism. But in this our *adversaries* are divided; for *Calvin* will have *Christ's* and *John's* to be all one, *Inst. lib.* 4 *cap.* 15. *sect.* 7, 8. yet they do differ, and the difference is, in that the one is by water, the other not, &c.

Secondly, As to what Christ saith, in commanding them to *baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit*, I confess that states the difference, and it is great; but that lies not only in admitting *water-baptism* in this different form, by a bare expressing of these words: for as the text says no such thing, neither do I see how it can be inferred from it. For the Greek is εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, that is, *into the name;* now the *name* of the *Lord* is often taken in scripture for something else than a bare sound of words, or literal expression, even for his *virtue* and *power*, as may appear from *Psal.* liv. 3. *Cant.* i. 3. *Prov.* xviii. 10. and in many more. Now that the apostles were by their ministry to baptize the nations *into this name, virtue*, and *power*, and that they did so, is evident by these testimonies of *Paul* above-mentioned, where he saith, *That as many of them as were baptized into Christ, have put on Christ;* this must have been a *baptizing into the name*, i. e. *power* and *virtue*, and not a mere formal expression of words adjoining with water-baptism; because, as hath been above observed, it doth not follow as a natural or necessary consequence of it. I would have those who desire to have their faith built upon no other foundation

Of the name of the Lord how taken in scripture.

The baptism into the name, what it is.

than the testimony of *God's Spirit*, and *Scriptures* of *truth*, thoroughly to consider whether there can be any thing further alleged for this interpretation than what the prejudice of education and influence of tradition hath imposed. Perhaps it may stumble the unwary and inconsiderate *reader*, as if the very character of *Christianity* were abolished, to tell him plainly that this scripture is not to be understood of *baptizing with water*, and that this form of *baptizing in the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit*, hath no warrant from *Mat.* xxviii. &c.

Whether Christ did prescribe a form of baptism in Mat. xxviii

For which, besides the reason taken from the signification of [*the name*] as being the *virtue* and *power* above expressed, let it be considered, that if it had been a *form* prescribed by Christ to his apostles, then surely they would have made use of that form in the administering of *water-baptism* to such as they baptized with water; but though particular mention be made in divers places of the *Acts* who were baptized, and how; and though it be particularly expressed that they *baptized* such and such, as *Acts* ii. 41. and viii. 12, 13, 38. and ix. 18. and x. 48. and xvi. 15, and xviii. 8. yet there is not a word of this form. And in two places, *Acts* viii. 16. and xix. 5. it is said of some that they were *baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus;* by which it yet more appears, that either the author of this *history* hath been very defective, who having so often occasion to mention this, yet omitteth so substantial a part of *baptism*, (which were to accuse the *Holy Ghost*, by whose guidance *Luke* wrote it) or else that the apostles did no ways understand that *Christ* by his commission, *Mat.* xxviii. did enjoin them such a form of *water-baptism*, seeing they did not use it. And therefore it is safer to conclude, that what they did in administering *water-baptism*, they did not by virtue of that commission, else they would have so used it; for our adversaries I suppose would judge it a great *heresy* to administer

water-baptism without that, or only in the *name of Jesus*, without mention of *Father* or *Spirit*, as it is expressly said they did, in the two places above-cited.

Secondly, They say, *If this were not understood of* water-baptism, *it would be a tautology, and all one with* teaching. Alle. 2.

I say, *Nay: Baptizing with the Spirit* is somewhat further than teaching, or informing the understanding; for it imports a *reaching to*, and *melting the heart*, whereby it is *turned*, as well as the *understanding informed*. Besides, we find often in the scripture, that *teaching* and *instructing* are put together, without any absurdity, or needless tautology; and yet these two have a greater affinity than *teaching* and *baptizing* with the *Spirit*. Answ. How teaching & baptizing differ.

Thirdly, They say, *Baptism in this place must be understood with* water, *because it is the action of the apostles; and so cannot be the baptism of the Spirit, which is the work of Christ, and his grace; not of man, &c.* Alle. 3.

I answer; *Baptism with the Spirit*, though not wrought without *Christ* and his *grace*, is instrumentally done by men fitted of God for that purpose; and therefore no absurdity follows, that *baptism* with the *Spirit* should be expressed as the action of the apostles. For though it be Christ by his grace that gives *spiritual gifts*, yet the apostle, *Rom.* i. 11. speaks of HIS *imparting to them spiritual gifts;* and he tells the *Corinthians*, that HE had *begotten them through the gospel*, 1 Cor. iv. 15. And yet to beget people to the *faith*, is the work of *Christ* and his *grace*, not of men. To convert the heart, is properly the work of Christ; and yet the scripture oftentimes ascribes it to men, as being the instruments: and since *Paul's* commission was, *To turn people from darkness to light*, (though that be not done without *Christ* co-operating by his grace,) so may also *baptizing with the Spirit* be expressed, as performable by man as the instrument, though the work Answ. The baptism with the Spirit ascribed to godly men as instruments.

of *Christ's grace* be needful to concur thereunto. So that it is no absurdity to say, that the apostles did administer the *baptism* of the *Spirit*.

Alle. 4. Lastly, They say, *That since Christ saith here, that he will be with his disciples to the end of the world, therefore* water-baptism *must continue so long*.

Answ. If he had been speaking here of water-baptism, then that might have been urged; but seeing that is denied, and proved to be false, nothing from thence can be gathered; he speaking of the baptism of the *Spirit*, which we freely confess doth remain to the end of the world; yea, so long as Christ's presence abideth with his children.

Obj. 3. §. IX. Thirdly, They object *the constant practice of the apostles in the primitive church, who*, they say, *did always administer* water-baptism *to such as they converted to the faith of Christ; and hence also they further urge that of* Mat. xxviii. *to have been meant of* water; *or else the apostles did not understand it, because in* baptizing *they used* water; *or that in so doing they walked without a commission.*

Answ. I answer; That it was the *constant practice of the apostles*, is denied; for we have shown, in the example of *Paul*, that it was not so; since it were most absurd to judge that he converted only those few, even of the church of *Corinth*, whom he saith he baptized; nor were it less absurd to think that that was a *constant apostolic practice*, which he, who was not inferior to the chiefest of the apostles, and who declares he laboured as much as they all, rejoiceth he was so little in. But further; the conclusion inferred from the apostles' practice of *baptizing with water*, to evince that they understood *Mat.* xxviii. of water-baptism, doth not hold: for though they baptize with water, it will not follow that either they did it by virtue of that commission, or that they mistook that place; nor can there be any *medium* brought, that will infer such a conclusion. As to the other insinuated absurdity, *That they did*

How the apostles baptized.

it without a commission, it is none at all: for they might have done it by a *permission*, as being in use before *Christ's death;* and because the people, nursed up with outward ceremonies, could not be weaned wholly from them. And thus they used other things, as *circumcision*, and *legal purifications*, which yet they had no commission from Christ to do: to which we shall speak more at length in the following *proposition* concerning the *supper*.

But if from the *sameness* of the word, because Christ bids them *baptize*, and they afterwards in the use of water are said to *baptize*, it be judged probable *that they did understand that commission*, Mat. xxviii. *to authorize them to baptize with* water, *and accordingly practised it;* Object.

Although it should be granted, that for a season they did so far mistake it, as to judge that *water* belonged to that baptism, (which however I find no necessity of granting,) yet I see not any great absurdity would thence follow. For it is plain they did mistake that commission, as to a main part of it, for a season; as where he bids them *Go, teach all nations;* since some time after they judged it unlawful to teach the *Gentiles;* yea, *Peter* himself scrupled it, until by a vision constrained thereunto; for which, after he had done it, he was for a season (until they were better informed) judged by the rest of his brethren. Now, if the education of the apostles as *Jews*, and their propensity to adhere and stick to the *Jewish religion*, did so far influence them, that even after Christ's *resurrection*, and the *pouring forth* of the *Spirit*, they could not receive nor admit of the teaching of the *Gentiles*, though Christ, in his commission to them, commanded them to preach to them; what further absurdity were it to suppose, that, through the like mistake, the chiefest of them having been the disciples of *John*, and his baptism being so much prized there among the *Jews*, they also Answ

The apostles did scruple the teaching the Gentiles.

took Christ's baptism, intended by him of the Spirit, to be that of water, which was *John's*, and accordingly practised it for a season? It suffices us, that if they were so mistaken, (though I say not that they were so,) they did not always remain under that mistake: else *Peter* would not have said of the baptism which now saves, *that it is not a putting away of the filth of the flesh*, which certainly water-baptism is.

But further, They urge much *Peter's* baptizing *Cornelius;* in which they press two things, First, *That water-baptism is used, even to those that had received the Spirit.* Secondly, *That it is said positively, he commanded them to be baptized*, Acts x. 47, 48.

But neither of these doth necessarily infer water-baptism to belong to the *new covenant dispensation*, nor yet to be a perpetual standing *ordinance* in the church. For first, all that this will amount to, was, that *Peter* at that time baptized these men; but that he did it by virtue of that commission, *Mat.* xxviii. remains yet to be proved. And how doth the baptizing with water, after the receiving of the Holy Ghost, prove the case, more than the use of *circumcision*, and other *legal rites*, acknowledged to have been performed by him afterwards? Also, it is no wonder if *Peter*, who thought it so strange (notwithstanding all that had been professed before, and spoken by Christ) that the *Gentiles* should be made partakers of the gospel, and with great difficulty, not without an extraordinary impulse thereunto, was brought to come to them, and eat with them, was apt to put this ceremony upon them; which being, as it were, the particular dispensation of *John*, the *forerunner* of Christ, seemed to have greater affinity with the gospel, than the other *Jewish ceremonies* then used by the *church;* but that will no ways infer our adversaries' conclusion. Secondly, As to these words, *And he commanded them to be baptized*, it declareth matter of

Whether Peter's baptizing some with water makes it a standing ordinance to the church.

fact, not of *right*, and amounteth to no more, than that *Peter* did at that time, *pro hic & nunc*, command those persons to be *baptized with water*, which is not denied: but it saith nothing that *Peter* commanded water-baptism to be a standing and perpetual ordinance to the church; neither can any man of sound reason say, if he heed what he says, that a command in *matter of fact* to particular persons, doth infer the *thing commanded* to be of general obligation to all, if it be not otherwise bottomed upon some positive precept. Why doth *Peter's* commanding *Cornelius* and his household to be baptized at that time infer *water-baptism* to continue, more than his constraining (which is more than commanding) the *Gentiles* in general to be *circumcised*, and observe the *law?* We find at that time, when *Peter* baptized *Cornelius*, it was not yet determined whether the Gentiles should not be *circumcised;* but on the contrary, it was the most general sense of the *church* that *they should:* and therefore no wonder if they thought it needful at that time that they should be baptized; which had more affinity with the gospel, and was a burden less grievous.

§. X. Fourthly, They object *from the signification of the word* [baptize] *which is as much as to* dip *and* wash *with* water; *alleging thence that the very word imports a being baptized with* water. Obj. 4.

This objection is very weak. For since *baptizing* with water was a rite among the *Jews*, as *Paulus Riccius* showeth, even before the coming of *John;* and that the ceremony received that name from the nature of the practice, as used both by the *Jews* and by *John;* yet we find that Christ and his apostles frequently make use of these terms to a more spiritual signification. *Circumcision* was only used and understood among the *Jews* to be *that of the flesh;* but the apostle tells us of the *circumcision of the heart and spirit made without hands.* So Answ.

Baptizing signifies dipping or washing with water

that though baptism was used among the *Jews* only to signify a *washing with water*, yet both *John*, Christ, and his apostles, speak of a being *baptized with the Spirit, and with fire;* which they make the peculiar baptism of Christ, as contra-distinguished from that of *water*, which was *John's*, as is above shown. So that though baptism among the *Jews* was only understood of *water*, yet among *Christians* it is very well understood of the *Spirit* without *water:* as we see Christ and his apostles spiritually to understand things, under the terms of what had been *shadows* before. Thus Christ, speaking of his *body*, (though the *Jews* mistook him,) said, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up;* and many more that might be instanced. But if the *etymology* of the word should be tenaciously adhered to, it would militate against most of our adversaries, as well as against us: for the Greek Βαπτίζω signifies *immergo*, that is, to *plunge* and *dip in;* and that was the proper use of water-baptism among the *Jews*, and also by *John*, and the primitive Christians, who used it; whereas our adversaries, for the most part, only *sprinkle* a little water upon the forehead, which doth not at all answer to the word [*baptism*]. Yea, those of old among Christians that used water-baptism, thought this *dipping* or *plunging* so needful, that they thus *dipped* children: and forasmuch as it was judged that it might prove hurtful to some weak constitutions, *sprinkling*, to prevent that hurt, was introduced; yet then it was likewise appointed, that such as were only *sprinkled*, and not *dipped*, should not be admitted to have any office in the church, as not being sufficiently *baptized*. So that if our adversaries will stick to the word, they must alter their method of *sprinkling*.

Βαπτίζω immergo, intingo, to plunge and dip in.

Those that of old used water-baptism were dipped and plunged; and those that were only sprinkled, were not admitted to any office in the church —and why.

Obj. 5. Fifthly, They object *John* iii. 5. *Except a man be born of* water, *and of the* Spirit, *&c. hence inferring the necessity of* water-baptism, *as well as of the Spirit.*

But if this prove any thing, it will prove water-baptism to be of absolute necessity; and therefore *Protestants* rightly affirm, when this is urged upon them by *Papists*, to evince the absolute necessity of water-baptism, that [*water*] is not here understood of outward water; but mystically, of an inward cleansing and washing. Even as where Christ speaks of being *baptized with fire*, it is not to be understood of outward material fire, but only of purifying, by a *metonymy;* because to *purify* is a proper effect of fire, as to *wash* and *make clean* is of water; where it can as little be so understood, as where we are said to be *saved by the washing of regeneration*, Tit. iii. 5. Yea, *Peter* saith expressly, in the place often cited, as * *Calvin* well observes, *That the* baptism *which saves, is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh.* So that since [*water*] cannot be understood of outward water, this can serve nothing to prove water-baptism.

Answ. The water that regenerates, is mystical & inward.

* In the 4th book of his Instit. c. 15.

If it be said, that [*water*] *imports here* necessitatem præcepti, *though not* medii;

Object.

I answer; That is first to take it for granted that outward water is here understood; the contrary whereof we have already proved. Next, *water* and the *Spirit* are placed here together, [*Except a man be born of* water *and the* Spirit,] where the necessity of the one is urged as much as of the other. Now if the Spirit be absolutely necessary, so will also water; and then we must either say, that *to be born of the Spirit* is not absolutely necessary, which all acknowledge to be false; or else, that *water* is absolutely necessary; which, as *Protestants*, we affirm, and have proved, is false: else we must confess, that *water* is not here understood of outward water. For to say that when *water* and the *Spirit* are placed here just together, and in the same manner, though there be not any difference or ground for it visible in the text, or deducible from it, That the *necessity* of *water* is here *præcepti*,

Answ.

Necessitas præcepti and medii urged.

but not *medii*, but the *necessity* of the *Spirit* is both *medii* and *præcepti*, is indeed confidently to affirm, but not to prove.

Obj. 6. Sixthly and lastly; They object, *That the baptism of water is a visible sign or badge to distinguish* Christians *from* Infidels, *even as circumcision did the* Jews.

Answ. I answer; This saith nothing at all, unless it be proved to be a *necessary precept*, or part of the *new covenant dispensation;* it not being lawful for us to impose outward *ceremonies* and *rites*, and say, they will distinguish us from *infidels*. *Circumcision* was positively commanded, and said to be a *seal of the first covenant;* but as we have already proved that there is no such command for baptism, so there is not any word in all the New Testament, calling it a *badge of Christianity*, or *seal of the new covenant:* and therefore to conclude it is so, because *circumcision* was so, (unless some better proof be alleged for it,) is miserably to beg the question. *The professing of faith in Christ, and a holy life answering thereunto, is a far better* badge *of* Christianity *than any outward washing;* which yet answers not to that of *circumcision*, since that affixed a character in the flesh, which this doth not: so that a Christian is not known to be a Christian by his being *baptized*, especially when he was a child, unless he tell them so much: and may not the professing of *faith in Christ* signify that as well? I know there are divers of those called the *Fathers*, that speak much of water-baptism, calling it *Characterem Christianitatis:* but so did they also of the sign of the *cross*, and other such things, justly rejected by *Protestants*. For the *mystery of iniquity*, which began to work in the apostles' days, soon spoiled the simplicity and purity of the Christian worship; insomuch that not only many *Jewish rites* were retained, but many *heathenish customs* and *ceremonies* introduced into the Christian worship; as particularly that word [*sacra-*

Circumcision a seal of the first covenant.

Water-baptism falsely called a badge of Christianity.

Which is the badge of Christianity.

What the Fathers say of water-baptism, and of the sign of the cross.

Heathenish ceremonies introduced into the Christian worship.

ment]. So that it is a great folly, especially for *Protestants*, to plead any thing of this from *tradition* or *antiquity;* for we find that neither *Papists* nor *Protestants* use those rites exactly as the *ancients* did; who in such things, not walking by the most certain rule of God's Spirit, but doting too much upon externals, were very uncertain. For most of them all, in the primitive times, did wholly *plunge* and *dip* those they baptized, which neither *Papists*, nor most *Protestants*, do: yea, several of the *Fathers* accused some as *heretics* in their days, for holding some principles common with *Protestants* concerning it; as particularly *Augustine* doth the *Pelagians*, for saying that *infants dying unbaptized may be saved.* And the *Manichees* were condemned, for denying that *grace is universally given by baptism;* and *Julian* the *Pelagian* by *Augustine*, for denying *exorcism and insufflation in the use of baptism:* all which things *Protestants* deny also. So that *Protestants* do but foolishly to upbraid us, as if we could not show any among the *ancients* that denied *water-baptism;* seeing they cannot show any, whom they acknowledge not to have been heretical in several things, that used it; nor yet, who using it, did not also use the *sign of the cross*, and other things with it, which they deny. There were some nevertheless in the darkest times of *Popery*, who testified against *water-baptism.* For one *Alanus*, pag. 103, 104, 107, speaks of some in his time that were burnt for the denying of it: for they said, That *baptism had no efficacy, either in children or adult persons; and therefore men were not obliged to take baptism:* particularly *ten canonics*, so called, *were burnt for that crime, by the order of king* Robert *of* France. And *P. Pithœus* mentions it in his *fragments* of the *history* of *Guienne*, which is also confirmed by one *Johannes Floracensis*, a *monk*, who was famous at that time, in his epistle to *Oliva*, abbot of the *Ausonian* church: *I will*, saith

Exorcism or adjuration.

The sign of the cross.

Many in former ages testified against water-baptism.

Ten canonics burnt at Orleans, and why?

he, *give you to understand concerning the heresy that was in the city of* Orleans *on* Childermas-day; *for it was true, if ye have heard any thing, that king* Robert *caused to be burnt alive near fourteen of that city, of the chief of their* clergy, *and the more noble of their* laics, *who were hateful to God, and abominable to heaven and earth; for they did stiffly deny the grace of holy baptism, and also the consecration of the Lord's body and blood.* The time of this deed is noted in these words by *Papir. Masson*, in his *annals* of *France*, lib. 3. in *Hugh* and *Robert*, *Actum Aureliæ publice anno Incarnationis Domini* 1022. *Regni* Roberti *Regis* 28. *Indictione* 5. *quando* Stephanus *Hæresiarcha & Complices ejus damnati sunt & exusti Aureliæ.*

Now for their calling them *Heretics* and *Manichees*, we have nothing but the testimony of their accusers, which will no more invalidate their testimony for this truth against the use of water-baptism, or give more ground to charge us, as being one with *Manichees*, than because some, called by them *Manichees*, do agree with *Protestants* in some things, that therefore *Protestants* are *Manichees* or *Heretics*, which *Protestants* can no ways shun. For the question is, Whether, in what they did, they walked according to the truth testified of by the Spirit in the holy scriptures? So that the controversy is brought back again to the scriptures, according to which, I suppose, I have already discussed it.

The baptism of infants a human tradition.

As for the latter part of the *thesis*, denying the use of *infant-baptism*, it necessarily follows from what is above said. For if water-baptism be ceased, then surely *baptizing of infants* is not warrantable. But those that take upon them to oppose us in this matter, will have more to do as to this latter part: for after they have done what they can to prove water-baptism, it remains for them to prove that *infants* ought to be baptized. For

he that proves water-baptism ceased, proves that infant-baptism is vain: but he that should prove that water-baptism continues, has not thence proved that infant-baptism is necessary; that needs something further. And therefore it was a pitiful subterfuge of *Nic. Arnoldus* against this, to say, That *the denying of infant-baptism belonged to the gangrene of the* Anabaptists, without adding any further proof.

PROPOSITION XIII.

Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.

The *communion* of the body and blood of Christ is *inward* and *spiritual*, which is the participation of his flesh and blood, by which the *inward man* is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells. Of which things the *breaking of bread* by Christ with his disciples was a *figure*, which even they who had received the substance used in the church for a time, for the sake of the weak; even as *abstaining from things strangled*, and *from blood*, *the washing one another's feet*, and the *anointing of the sick with oil:* all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are but *shadows* of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the *substance*.

1 Cor. x. 16. 17. John vi. 32, 33, 35. 1 Cor. v. 8.

Acts xv. 20 John xiii. 14. James v. 14.

§. I. The *communion* of the body and blood of Christ is a *mystery* hid from all natural men, in their first fallen and degenerate state, which they cannot understand, reach to, nor comprehend, as they there abide; neither, as they there are, can they be partakers of it, nor yet are they able to *discern the Lord's body*. And forasmuch as the

Christian World (so called) for the most part hath been still labouring, working, conceiving, and imagining, in their own natural and unrenewed understandings, about the things of God and religion; therefore hath this *mystery* been much hid and sealed up from them, while they have been contending, quarrelling, and fighting one with another about the mere shadow, outside, and form, but strangers to the substance, life, and virtue.

The body and blood of Christ is spiritual.

§. II. The *body* then of Christ, which believers partake of, is *spiritual*, and not *carnal;* and his *blood*, which they drink of, is *pure* and *heavenly*, and not *human* or *elementary*, as *Augustine* also affirms of the *body of Christ*, which is eaten, in his *Tractat.* Psal. xcviii. *Except a man eat my flesh, he hath not in him life eternal:* and he saith, *The words which I speak unto you are Spirit and life; understand spiritually what I have spoken. Ye shall not eat of this body which ye see, and drink this blood which they shall spill, which crucify me—I am the living bread, who have descended from heaven. He calls himself the bread, who descended from heaven, exhorting that we might believe in him, &c.*

Object. If it be asked then, *What that* body, *what that* flesh *and* blood is?

Answ. I answer; It is that *heavenly seed*, that *divine, spiritual, celestial substance*, of which we spake before in the *fifth* and *sixth propositions*. This is that *spiritual body of Christ*, whereby and through which he communicateth *life to men*, and *salvation to as many as believe in him*, and *receive him;* and whereby also man comes to have fellowship and communion with God. This is proved from the sixth of *John*, from verse 32, to the end, where Christ speaks more at large of this matter, than in any other place: and indeed this *evangelist* and *beloved disciple*, who lay in the bosom of our Lord, gives us a more full account of the *spiritual sayings* and *doctrine* of Christ than any other; and it is ob-

What the heavenly seed is, whereby formerly, and also now, life and salvation was & is communicated.

servable, that though he speaks nothing of the *ceremony* used by Christ of *breaking bread with his disciples*, neither in his evangelical account of Christ's *life and sufferings*, nor in his epistles; yet he is more large in this account of the *participation* of the body, flesh, and blood of Christ, than any of them all. For Christ, in this chapter, perceiving that the *Jews* did follow him for love of the *loaves*, desires them (verse 27.) to *labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth for ever:* but forasmuch as they, being carnal in their apprehensions, and not understanding the spiritual language and doctrine of Christ, did judge the *manna*, which *Moses* gave their fathers, to be the most excellent bread, as coming from heaven; Christ, to rectify that mistake, and better inform them, affirmeth, First, That *it is not* Moses, *but his* Father, *that giveth the true* bread *from heaven*, vers. 32 and 48. Secondly, This bread *he calls* himself, verse 35. I *am the* bread *of life:* and verse 51. I *am the* living bread, *which came down from heaven.* Thirdly, He declares that this bread *is his flesh*, verse 51. *The* bread *that I will give, is my flesh;* and verse 55. *For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* Fourthly, The necessity of partaking thereof, verse 53. *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* And Lastly, The blessed fruits and necessary effects of this communion of the body and blood of Christ. Verse 33. *This* bread *giveth life to the world.* Verse 50. *He that eateth thereof, dieth not.* Verse 58. *He that eateth of this* bread, *shall live for ever.* Verse 54. *Whoso eateth this flesh, and drinketh this blood, shall live for ever.* Verse 56. *And he dwelleth in Christ, and Christ in him.* Verse 57. *And shall live by Christ.* From this large description of the origin, nature, and effects of this *body*, *flesh*, and *blood of* Christ, it is apparent that it is spiritual, and to be understood

The origin, nature and effects of the body, flesh, and blood of Christ.

of a spiritual body, and not of that body, or temple of Jesus Christ, which was born of the virgin *Mary*, and in which he walked, lived, and suffered in the land of *Judea;* because it is said, that it *came down from Heaven*, yea, that it is he that *came down from Heaven.* Now all Christians at present generally acknowledge, that the outward body of Christ came not down from heaven; neither was it that part of Christ which came down from heaven. And to put the matter out of doubt, when the carnal *Jews* would have been so understanding it, he tells them plainly, ver. 63. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, but the flesh profiteth nothing.* This is also founded upon most sound and solid reason; because it is the soul, not the body, that is to be nourished by this flesh and blood. Now outward flesh cannot nourish nor feed the soul; there is no proportion nor analogy betwixt them; neither is the communion of the saints with God by a conjunction and mutual participation of flesh, but of the Spirit: *He that is joined to the Lord is one Spirit*, not *one flesh.* For the flesh (I mean outward flesh, even such as was that wherein Christ lived and walked when upon earth; and not flesh, when transformed by a *metaphor*, to be understood spiritually) can only partake of flesh, as spirit of spirit: as the body cannot feed upon spirit, neither can the spirit feed upon flesh. And that the flesh here spoken of is spiritually to be understood, appears further, inasmuch as that which feedeth upon it shall never die: but the bodies of all men once die; yea, it was necessary that the body of Christ himself should die. That this body, and spiritual flesh and blood of Christ, is to be understood of that *divine* and *heavenly seed*, before spoken of by us, appears both by the nature and fruits of it. First, it is said, *It is that which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world:* now this answers to that *light* and *seed*,

Solid reasons that it is his spiritual body Christ speaks of.

1 Cor. vi. 17.

which is testified of, *John* i. to be the *light of the world, and the life of men.* For that *spiritual light* and *seed*, as it receives place in men's hearts, and room to spring up there, is as bread to the hungry and fainting soul, that is (as it were) buried and dead in the lusts of the world; which receives life again, and revives, as it tasteth and partaketh of this heavenly bread; and they that partake of it are said to come to Christ; neither can any have it, but by coming to him, and believing in the appearance of his *light* in their hearts; by receiving which, and believing in it, the participation of this body and bread is known. And that Christ understands the same thing here by his body, flesh, and blood, which is understood, *John* i. by the *light enlightening every man*, and the *life, &c.* appears; for the *light* and *life*, spoken of *John* i. is said to be *Christ; He is the true light:* and the *bread* and *flesh, &c.* spoken of in *John* vi. is called *Christ; I am the* bread *of life*, saith he. Again, *They that received that light and life*, John i. 12. *obtained power to become the sons of God, by believing in his name:* so also here, *John* vi. 35. *He that cometh unto this* bread *of life shall not hunger; and he that believes in him, who is this* bread, *shall never thirst.* So then, as there was the outward visible body and temple of Jesus Christ, which took its origin from the virgin *Mary;* there is also the spiritual body of Christ, by and through which He that was the *Word in the beginning with God*, and was and is *GOD*, did reveal himself to the sons of men in all ages, and whereby men in all ages come to be made partakers of *eternal life*, and to have communion and fellowship with God and Christ. Of which body of Christ, and flesh and blood, if both *Adam*, and *Seth*, and *Enoch*, and *Noah*, and *Abraham*, and *Moses*, and *David*, and all the prophets and holy men of God, had not eaten, they had not had life in them; nor could their inward

This spiritual light and seed is as bread to the hungry soul.

Christ's outward & spiritual body distinguished.

The patriarchs did eat of the body of Christ.

man have been nourished. Now as the outward body and temple was called Christ, so was also his spiritual body, no less properly, and that long before that outward body was in being. Hence the apostle saith, 1 *Cor.* x. 3, 4. that the *Fathers did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink: (for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ.)* This cannot be understood otherwise than of this spiritual body of Christ; which spiritual body of Christ, though it was the saving food of the righteous both before the *law* and under the *law;* yet under the *law* it was veiled and shadowed, and covered under divers types, ceremonies, and observations; yea, and not only so, but it was veiled and hid, in some respect, under the outward temple and body of Christ, or during the continuance of it; so that the *Jews* could not understand Christ's preaching about it while on earth: and not the *Jews* only, but many of his disciples, judging it an *hard saying, murmured at it; and many from that time went back from him, and walked no more with him.* I doubt not but that there are many also at this day, professing to be the disciples of Christ, that do as little understand this matter as those did, and are as apt to be offended, and stumble at it, while they are gazing and following after the outward body, and look not to that by which the saints are daily fed and nourished. For as Jesus Christ, in obedience to the will of the Father, did by the *eternal Spirit offer up that* body *for a propitiation* for the *remission of sins*, and finished his testimony upon earth thereby, in a most perfect example of patience, resignation, and holiness, that all might be made partakers of the fruit of that sacrifice; so hath he likewise poured forth *into the hearts of all men* a measure of that *divine light* and *seed* wherewith he is clothed; that thereby, reaching unto the consciences of all, he may raise

John vi. 60. 66.

The divine light of Christ doth make the saints partakers of his body.

them up out of *death* and *darkness* by his *life* and *light*, and they thereby may be made partakers of his body, and therethrough come to have fellowship with the Father and with the Son.

§. III. If it be asked, *How and after what manner man comes to partake of it, and to be fed by it?* Quest.

I answer in the plain and express words of Christ, I *am the* bread *of life*, saith he; *he that cometh to me shall never hunger; he that believeth in me shall never thirst.* And again, *For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* So whosoever thou art that askest this question, or readest these lines, whether thou accountest thyself a believer, or really feelest, by a certain and sad experience, that thou art yet in the unbelief, and findest that the outward body and flesh of Christ is so far from thee, that thou canst not reach it, nor feed upon it; yea, though thou hast often swallowed down and taken in that which the *Papists* have persuaded thee to be the real flesh and blood of Christ, and hast believed it to be so, though all thy senses told thee the contrary; or (being a *Lutheran*) hast taken that bread, in and with and under which the *Lutherans* have assured thee that the flesh and blood of Christ is; or (being a *Calvinist*) hast partaken of that which the *Calvinists* say (though a figure only of the body) gives them who take it a real participation of the body, flesh, and blood of Christ, though they never knew how nor what way; I say, if for all this thou findest thy soul yet barren, yea, hungry, and ready to starve, for want of something thou longest for; *know* that that *light* that discovers thy iniquity to thee, that shows thee thy barrenness, thy nakedness, thy emptiness, is that *body* which thou must partake of, and feed upon: but that till by forsaking iniquity thou turnest to it, comest unto it, receivest it, though thou mayest hunger after it, thou canst not be satisfied with it; for it hath no *communion with darkness*,

Answ. John vi. 35. and 55

The Lutherans and Calvinists' opinions of the flesh and blood of Christ in the supper so called.

1 Cor. vi. 14

nor canst thou drink of the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: and be partaker of the Lord's table, and the table of devils, 1 Cor x. 21. But as thou sufferest that small *seed of righteousness* to arise in thee, and to be formed into a birth, that new substantial birth, that is brought forth in the soul, supernaturally feeds upon and is nourished by this spiritual body; yea, as this outward birth lives not but as it draws in breath by the outward elementary air, so this new birth lives not in the soul, but as it draws in and breathes by that spiritual air or vehicle. And as the outward birth cannot subsist without some outward body to feed upon, some outward flesh, and some outward drink, so neither can this inward birth, unless it be fed by this inward flesh and blood of Christ, which answers to it after the same manner, by way of analogy. And this is most agreeable to the doctrine of Christ concerning this matter. For as without outward food the natural body hath not life, so also saith Christ, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.* And as the outward body, eating outward food, lives thereby, so Christ saith, that *he that eateth him shall live by him.* So it is this inward participation of this *inward man*, of this *inward* and *spiritual body*, by which man is united to God, and has fellowship and communion with him. *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood*, saith Christ, *dwelleth in me, and I in him.* This cannot be understood of outward eating of outward bread; and as by this the soul must have fellowship with God, so also, so far as all the saints are partakers of this *one body* and *one blood*, they come also to have a *joint communion.* Hence the apostle, 1 *Cor.* x. 17. in this respect saith, that they, *being many, are one* bread, *and one* body; and to the wise among the *Corinthians* he saith, *The* bread *which we break is the communion of the body of Christ.* This is

How the inward man is nourished.

John vi. 53.

John vi. 57.

John vi. 56.

Verse 16.

the *true* and *spiritual supper* of the Lord, which men come to partake of, by hearing the voice of Christ, and opening the door of their hearts, and so letting him in, in the manner abovesaid, according to the plain words of the scripture, *Rev.* iii. 20. *Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.* So that the *supper of the Lord*, and the *supping* with the Lord, and partaking of his flesh and blood, is no ways limited to the ceremony of *breaking bread* and *drinking wine* at particular times, but is truly and really enjoyed, as often as the soul retires into the light of the Lord, and feels and partakes of that heavenly life by which the inward man is nourished; which may be and is often witnessed by the faithful at all times, though more particularly when they are assembled together to wait upon the Lord.

The true spiritual supper of the Lord.

§. IV. But what confusion the professors of Christianity have run into concerning this matter, is more than obvious; who, as in most other things they have done, for want of a true spiritual understanding, have sought to tie this *supper* of the Lord to that ceremony used by Christ before his death, of *breaking bread* and *drinking wine* with his disciples. And though they for the most part agree generally in this, yet how do they contend and debate one against another! How strangely are they pinched, pained, and straitened to make the spiritual mystery agree to that ceremony! And what monstrous and wild opinions and conceptions have they invented, to enclose or affix the body of Christ to their *bread* and *wine!* From which opinion not only the greatest, and fiercest, and most hurtful contests, both among the professors of Christianity in general, and among *Protestants* in particular, have arisen; but also such absurdities, irrational and blasphemous consequences have en-

Man is not tied to the ceremony of breaking bread and drinking wine which Christ did use with his disciples; this only was a shadow.

What makes the Christian religion hateful to Jews, Turks, and Heathens.

sued, as make the Christian religion odious and hateful to *Jews*, *Turks*, and *Heathens*. The professors of Christianity do chiefly divide in this matter into three opinions.

The Papists' faith of Christ's flesh.

The First is of those that say, *The substance of the bread is transubstantiated into the very substance of that same body, flesh, and blood of* Christ, *which was born of the virgin* Mary, *and crucified by the* Jews; so that after the *words of consecration*, as they call them, *it is no more bread, but the body of* Christ.

The Lutherans' faith.

The Second is of such who say, *The substance of the bread remains, but that also that body is in, and with, and under the bread;* so that *both the substance of bread, and of the body, flesh, and blood of* Christ, *is there also.*

The Calvinists' faith.

The Third is of those, that, denying both these, do affirm, *That the body of* Christ *is not there corporally or substantially, but yet that it is really and sacramentally received by the faithful in the use of bread and wine;* but how or what way it is there, *they know not, nor can they tell; only we must believe it is there, yet so that it is only properly in heaven.*

It is not my design to enter into a refutation of these several opinions; for each of their authors and assertors have sufficiently refuted one another, and are all of them no less strong both from scripture and reason in refuting each their contrary parties' opinion, than they are weak in establishing their own. For I often have seriously observed, in reading their respective writings, and so it may be have others, that all of them do notably, in so far as they refute the contrary opinions; but that they are mightily pained, when they come to confirm and plead for their own. Hence I necessarily must conclude, that none of them had attained to the truth and substance of this *mystery*. Let us see if *Calvin*,* after he had refuted the two former opinions, be more suc-

* Inst. lib. iv. cap. 17.

cessful in what he affirms and asserts for the truth of his opinion, who, after he hath much laboured in overturning and refuting the two former opinions, plainly confesseth, that he knows not what to affirm instead of them. For after he has spoken much, and at last concluded *that the body of Christ is there, and that the saints must needs partake thereof*, at last he lands in these words, Sect. 32. *But if it be asked me how it is? I shall not be ashamed to confess, that it is a secret too high for me to comprehend in my spirit, or explain in words.* Here he deals very ingenuously; and yet who would have thought that such a man would have been brought to this strait in the confirming of his opinion? considering that a little before, in the same chapter, *Sect.* 15. he accuseth the school-men among the *Papists*, and I confess truly, *in that they neither understand nor explain to others how Christ is in the eucharist*, which shortly after he confesseth himself he cannot do. If then the school-men among the *Papists* do neither understand nor yet explain to others their doctrine in this matter, nor *Calvin* can comprehend it in his spirit, which I judge is as much as not to understand it, nor express it in words, and then surely he cannot explain it to others, then no certainty is to be had from either of them. There have been great endeavours used for reconcilement in this matter, both betwixt *Papists* and *Lutherans*, *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, yea, and *Calvinists* and *Papists*, but all to no purpose; and many forms and manners of expressions drawn up, to which all might yield; which in the end proved in vain, seeing every one understood them, and interpreted them in their own way; and so they did thereby but equivocate and deceive one another. The reason of all this contention is, because they had not a clear understanding of the *mystery*, and were doting about *shadows* and *externals*. For both the ground and matter of

J. Calvin's faith of Christ's flesh and blood uncertain.

The like the Papists.

Satan busies people in outward signs, shadows, and forms, whilst they neglect the substance.

their *contest* lies in things extrinsic from, and unnecessary to, the main matter. And this hath been often the policy of *Satan*, to busy people, and amuse them with outward signs, shadows, and forms, making them contend about that, while in the mean time, the substance is neglected; yea, and in contending for these shadows he stirs them up to the practice of malice, heat, revenge, and other vices, by which he establisheth his kingdom of darkness among them, and ruins the *life* of Christianity. For there have been more animosities and heats about this one particular, and more bloodshed and contention, than about any other.

What hath been hurtful to the reformation.

And surely they are little acquainted with the state of *Protestant affairs*, who know not that their contentions about this have been more hurtful to the *reformation* than all the opposition they met with from their common adversaries. Now all those uncertain and absurd opinions, and the contentions therefrom arising, have proceeded from their all agreeing in two general errors concerning this thing; which being denied and receded from, as they are by us, there would be an easy way made for *reconciliation*, and we should all meet in one spiritual and true understanding of this *mystery:* and as the contentions, so would also the absurdities which follow from all the three fore-mentioned opinions, cease and fall to the ground.

Two errors the ground of the contention about the supper.

The *first* of these *errors* is, in making the communion or participation of the body, flesh, and blood of Christ to relate to that outward body, vessel, or temple, that was born of the virgin *Mary*, and walked and suffered in *Judea;* whereas it should relate to the spiritual body, flesh, and blood of Christ, even that *heavenly* and *celestial light* and *life*, which was the food and nourishment of the regenerate in all ages, as we have already proved.

The *second error* is, in tying this participation of the body and blood of Christ to that ceremony used by him with his disciples in the breaking of bread, &c. as if it had only a relation thereto, or were only enjoyed in the use of that ceremony, which it neither hath nor is. For this is that bread which Christ in his prayer teaches to call for, terming it *τὸν ἄρτον τον ἐπιούσιον*, i. e. the *supersubstantial bread*, as the Greek hath it, and which the soul partakes of, without any relation or necessary respect to this ceremony, as shall be hereafter proved more at length.

These *two errors* being thus laid aside, and the contentions arising therefrom buried, all are agreed in the main positions, *viz.* First, that the *body, flesh, and blood of Christ is necessary for the nourishing of the soul.* Secondly, that the *souls of believers do really and truly partake and feed upon the body, flesh, and blood of Christ.* But while men are not content with the spirituality of this *mystery*, going in their own wills, and according to their own inventions, to strain and wrest the scriptures to tie this spiritual communion of the flesh and blood of Christ to outward bread and wine, and such like carnal ordinances, no wonder if by their carnal apprehensions they run into confusion. But because it hath been generally supposed that the communion of the body and blood of Christ had some special relation to the ceremony of *breaking bread*, I shall first refute that opinion, and then proceed to consider the nature and use of that *ceremony*, and whether it be now *necessary* to continue; answering the reasons and objections of such as plead its continuance as a necessary and standing ordinance of Jesus Christ.

Believers' souls do really feed upon the flesh and blood of Christ.

§. V. First, It must be understood that I speak of a necessary and peculiar relation otherwise than in a general respect: for inasmuch as our communion with Christ is and ought to be our great- **I.**

That the communion of the body and blood of Christ has no special relation to the ceremony of breaking bread, neither by nature nor precept.

est and chiefest work, we ought to do all other things with a respect to God, and our fellowship with him; but a special and necessary respect or relation is such as where the two things are so tied and united together, either *of their own nature*, or *by the command of God*, that the one cannot be enjoyed, or at least is not, except very extraordinarily, without the other. Thus *salvation* hath a necessary respect to *holiness*, because *without holiness no man shall see God;* and the *eating of the flesh and blood of* Christ hath a necessary respect to our having life, because if we *eat not his flesh, and drink not his blood*, we cannot have *life;* and our *feeling of God's presence* hath a necessary respect to our being found meeting in his name by divine precept, because he has promised *where two or three are met together in his name, he will be in the midst of them.* In like manner our receiving *benefits* and *blessings from God* has a necessary respect to our *prayer*, because if *we ask*, he hath promised *we shall receive.* Now the communion or participation of the *flesh and blood of Christ* hath no such necessary relation to the *breaking of bread* and *drinking of wine;* for if it had any such necessary relation, it would either be from the *nature of the thing*, or from some *divine precept;* but we shall show it is from neither; therefore, &c.

First, It is not from the *nature of it;* because to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ is a spiritual exercise, and all confess that it is by the soul and spirit that we become real partakers of it, as it is the soul, and not the body, that is nourished by it. But to eat bread and drink wine is a natural act, which in itself adds nothing to the soul, neither has any thing that is spiritual in it; because the most carnal man that is can as fully, as perfectly, and as wholly eat bread and drink wine as the most spiritual. *Secondly*, Their relation is not *by nature*, else they would infer one

another; but all acknowledge that many eat of the bread and drink of the wine, even that which they say is *consecrate* and *transubstantiate into the very body of Christ*, who notwithstanding have not life eternal, have not Christ dwelling in them, nor do live by him, as all do who truly partake of the flesh and blood of Christ without the use of this ceremony, as all the *patriarchs* and *prophets* did before this ordinance, as they account it, was instituted. Neither was there any thing under the law that had any direct or necessary relation hereunto; though to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ in all ages was indispensably necessary to salvation. For as for the *paschal lamb*, the whole end of it is signified particularly, *Exod.* xiii. 8, 9. to wit, *That the* Jews *might thereby be kept in remembrance of their deliverance out of* Egypt.

The patriarchs and prophets, without this ceremony's use were true partakers of Christ's flesh and blood.

The paschal lamb its end.

Secondly, It hath not relation by *divine precept;* for if it had, it would be mentioned in that which our adversaries account the institution of it, or else in the practice of it by the saints recorded in scripture; but so it is not. For as to the *institution*, or rather *narration*, of Christ's practice in this matter, we have it recorded by the evangelists *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*. In the first two there is only an account of the matter of fact, to wit, *That* Christ *brake bread, and gave it to his disciples to eat, saying, This is my body; and blessing the cup, he gave it them to drink, saying, This is my blood;* but nothing of any desire to them to do it. In the last, after the *bread*, (but before the *blessing*, or giving them the *wine*,) he bids them *do it in remembrance of him.* What we are to think of this practice of Christ shall be spoken of hereafter. But what necessary relation hath all this to the believers partaking of the flesh and blood of Christ? The end of this for which they were to do it, if at all, is to *remember* Christ; which the apostle yet more particularly expresses, 1 *Cor.* xi. 26. *to show forth*

Mat. xxvi. 17. Mark xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19.

The institution of the supper, or narration of Christ's practice therein.

the Lord's death; but to *remember the Lord*, or *declare his death*, which are the special and particular ends annexed to the use of this ceremony, is not at all to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ; neither have they any more necessary relation to it than any other two different spiritual duties. For though they that partake of the *flesh and blood of* Christ cannot but remember him, yet the Lord and his death may be remembered, as none can deny, where his flesh and blood is not truly partaken of. So that since the very particular and express end of this ceremony may be witnessed, to wit, the remembrance of the Lord's death, and yet the flesh and blood of Christ not partaken of, it cannot have had any necessary relation to it, else the partaking thereof would have been the end of it, and could not have been attained without this participation. But on the contrary, we may well infer hence, that since the positive end of this ceremony is not the partaking of the flesh and blood of Christ, and that whoever partakes of the flesh and blood of Christ cannot but remember him, that therefore such need not this ceremony to put them in remembrance of him.

Object. But if it be said, *That* Jesus Christ *calls the bread here his* body, *and the wine his* blood, *therefore he seems to have had a special relation to his disciples partaking of his flesh and blood in the use of this thing;*

Answ. I answer, His calling the bread his *body*, and the wine his *blood*, would yet infer no such thing; though it is not denied but that Jesus Christ, in all things he did, yea, and from the use of all natural things, took occasion to raise the minds of his disciples and hearers to spirituals. Hence from the woman of *Samaria* her drawing *water*, he took occasion to tell her of that *living water*, which *whoso drinketh of shall never thirst;* which indeed is

The woman of Samaria, John iv. 14.

all one with his *blood* here spoken of; yet it will not follow that *that well* or *water* had any necessary relation to the *living water*, or the *living water* to it, &c. So Christ takes occasion, from the *Jews* following him for the *loaves*, to tell them of this *spiritual bread* and *flesh* of his body, which was more necessary for them to feed upon; it will not therefore follow that their following him for the *loaves* had any necessary relation thereunto. So also Christ here, being at supper with his disciples, takes occasion, from the *bread* and *wine* which was before them, to signify unto them, That as that *bread* which he brake unto them, and that *wine* which he blessed and gave unto them, did contribute to the preserving and nourishing of their bodies, so was he also to give his *body* and shed his *blood* for the *salvation* of their *souls*. And therefore the very end proposed in this ceremony to those that observe it is, to be a *memorial of his death.*

The well, the loaves, the bread and wine, Christ takes occasion from, to show the inward feeling.

But if it be said, *That the apostle*, 1 Cor. x. 16. *calls the bread which he brake the communion of the body of Christ, and the cup the communion of his blood;*

I do most willingly subscribe unto it; but do deny that this is understood of the outward bread, neither can it be evinced, but the contrary is manifest from the context: for the apostle in this chapter speaks not one word of that ceremony; for having in the beginning of it shown them how the *Jews* of old were made partakers of the *spiritual food* and *water*, which was Christ, and how several of them, through *disobedience* and *idolatry*, fell from that good condition, he exhorts them, by the example of those *Jews* whom God destroyed of old, to flee those evils; showing them that they, to wit, the *Corinthians*, are likewise partakers of the *body and blood of* Christ; of which communion they would rob themselves if they did evil,

because *they could not drink of the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils, and partake of the Lord's table and the table of devils*, ver. 21. which shows that he understands not here the using of outward bread and wine; because those that do drink the *cup of devils*, and eat of the *table of devils*, yea, the wickedest of men, may partake of the outward bread and outward wine. For there the apostle calls the bread *one*, ver. 17. and he saith, *We being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.* Now if the bread be *one*, it cannot be the *outward*, or the *inward* would be excluded; whereas it cannot be denied but that it is the partaking of the *inward bread*, and not the *outward*, that makes the saints truly *one body* and *one bread*. And whereas they say, that the *one bread* here comprehendeth both the *outward* and *inward*, by virtue of the *sacramental union;* that indeed is to affirm, but not to prove. As for that *figment* of a *sacramental union*, I find not such a thing in all the *scripture*, especially in the *New Testament;* nor is there any thing can give a rise for such a thing in this chapter, where the apostle, as is above observed, is not at all treating of that *ceremony*, but only, from the excellency of that privilege which the *Corinthians* had, as believing Christians, *to partake of the flesh and blood of* Christ, dehorts them from *idolatry*, and partaking of the sacrifices offered to *idols*, so as thereby to offend or hurt their weak brethren.

The wickedest may take the outward bread and wine.

The sacramental union pretended, a figment.

Object. But that which they most of all *cry out* for in this matter, and are always *urging*, is from 1 *Cor.* xi. where the apostle is particularly treating of this matter, and therefore, from some words here, they have the greatest appearance of truth for their assertion, as ver. 27. where he calls the *cup* the *cup of the Lord;* and saith, *That they who eat of it and drink it unworthily, are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord;* and ver. 29. *Eat and drink their*

own damnation; intimating hence, that this hath an immediate or necessary relation to the body, flesh, and blood of Christ.

Though this at first view may catch the unwary reader, yet being well considered, it doth no ways evince the matter in controversy. As for the *Corinthians* being in the use of this ceremony, why they were so, and how that obliges not Christians now to the same, shall be spoken of hereafter: it suffices at this time to consider that they were in the use of it. *Secondly*, That in the use of it they were guilty of and committed divers abuses. *Thirdly*, That the apostle here is giving them directions how they may do it aright, in showing them the right and proper use and end of it. **Answ.**

These things being premised, let it be observed, that the very express and particular use of it, according to the apostle, is *to show forth the Lord's death, &c.* But *to show forth the Lord's death, and partake of the flesh and blood of* Christ, are different things. He saith not, *As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye partake of the body and blood of* Christ; but, *ye show forth the Lord's death.* So I acknowledge *that this ceremony*, by those that practise it, hath an *immediate relation* to the *outward body* and *death of* Christ upon the *cross*, as being properly a memorial of it; but it doth not thence follow that it hath any *inward* or *immediate relation to believers communicating or partaking of the spiritual body and blood of* Christ, *or that spiritual supper* spoken of *Rev.* iii. 20. For though in a general way, as every religious action in some respect hath a common relation to the spiritual communion of the saints with God, so we shall not deny but this hath a relation as others. Now for his calling *the cup the cup of the Lord*, and saying, *They are guilty of the body and blood of* Christ, *and eat their own damnation in not discerning*

the Lord's body, &c. I answer, That this infers no more necessary relation than any other religious act, and amounts to no more than this, That since the *Corinthians* were in the use of this ceremony, and so performed it as a religious act, they ought to do it worthily, or else they should bring condemnation upon themselves. Now this will not more infer the thing so practised by them to be a necessary religious act obligatory upon others, than when the apostle saith, *Rom.* xiv. 6. *He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord*, it can be thence inferred that the days that some esteemed and observed did lay an obligation upon others to do the same. But yet, as he that esteemed a day, and placed conscience in keeping it, was to *regard it to the Lord*, and so it was to him, in so far as he dedicated it unto the Lord, the *Lord's day*, he was to do it worthily; and if he did it unworthily, he would be guilty of the *Lord's day*, and so keep it to his own damnation; so also such as observe this *ceremony of bread and wine*, it is to them the *bread of the Lord*, and *the cup of the Lord*, because they use it as a religious act; and forasmuch as their end therein is to *show forth the Lord's death*, and *remember his body* that was crucified for them, and his *blood* that was shed for them, if, notwithstanding, they believe it is their duty to do it, and make it a matter of conscience to forbear, if they do it without that due preparation and examination which every religious act ought to be performed in, then, instead of truly remembering the Lord's death, and his body and his blood, they render themselves guilty of it, as being in one spirit with those that crucified him, and shed his blood, though pretending with thanksgiving and joy to remember it. Thus the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* of old, though in memory of the prophets they garnished their sepulchres, yet are said by Christ to be *guilty of their blood.* And

The Pharisees guilty of the blood of the prophets.

that no more can be hence inferred, appears from another saying of the same apostle, *Rom.* xiv. 23. *He that doubteth is damned if he eat, &c.* where he, speaking of those that judged it unlawful to eat flesh, &c. saith, *If they eat doubting, they eat their own damnation.* Now it is manifest from all this, that either the doing or forbearing of this was to another, that placed no conscience in it, of no moment. So I say, he that eateth that which in his conscience he is pursuaded it is not lawful for him to eat, doth eat his own *damnation;* so he also that placeth conscience in eating bread and wine *as a religious act*, if he do it unprepared, and without that due respect wherein such acts should be gone about, he *eateth and drinketh his own damnation, not discerning the Lord's body*, i. e. not minding what he doth, to wit, *with a special respect to the Lord, and by way of special commemoration of the death of Christ.*

§. VI. Having now sufficiently shown what the true communion of the body and blood of Christ is, how it is partaken of, and how it has no necessary relation to that ceremony of bread and wine used by Christ with his disciples; it is fit now to consider the *nature* and *constitution* of that *ceremony*, (for as to the *proper use* of it, we have had occasion to speak before,) whether it be a *standing ordinance* in the church of Christ obligatory upon all, or indeed whether it be any necessary part of the worship of the *new covenant dispensation*, or hath any better or more binding foundation than several other ceremonies appointed and practised about the same time, which the most of our opposers acknowledge to be ceased, and now no ways binding upon Christians. We find this ceremony only mentioned in scripture in four places, to wit, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, and by *Paul* to the *Corinthians*. If any would infer any thing from the frequency of the mentioning of it,

II. Whether this ceremony be a necessary part of the new covenant, and obligatory.

that will add nothing; for it being a matter of fact, is therefore mentioned by the evangelists; and there are other things less memorable as often, yea, oftener mentioned. *Matthew* and *Mark* give only an account of the matter of fact, without any precept to do so afterwards; simply declaring, that Jesus at that time did desire them to *eat of the bread and drink of the cup;* to which *Luke* adds these words, *This do in remembrance of me.* If we consider this action of Christ with his apostles, there will appear nothing singular in it for a foundation to such a strange *superstructure* as many in their airy imaginations have sought to build upon it; for both *Matthew* and *Mark* express it as an act done by him as he was eating. *Matthew* saith, *And as they were eating;* and *Mark*, *And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, &c.* Now this act was no singular thing, neither any solemn institution of a *gospel ordinance;* because it was a constant custom among the *Jews*, as *Paulus Riccius* observes at length in his *Celestial Agriculture*, that when they did eat the passover, the master of the family did take bread, and bless it, and breaking it, gave of it to the rest; and likewise taking wine, did the same; so that there can nothing further appear in this, than that Jesus Christ, *who fulfilled all righteousness*, and also observed the *Jewish feasts and customs*, used this also among his disciples only, that as in most other things he laboured to draw their minds to a further thing, so in the use of this he takes occasion to put them in mind of his death and sufferings, which were shortly to be; which he did the oftener inculcate unto them, for that they were averse from believing it. And as for that expression of *Luke*, *Do this in remembrance of me*, it will amount to no more than this, that being the last time that Christ did eat with his disciples, he desired them, that in their eating and drinking they might have regard to him, and by the re-

Mat. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 23. &c.

The breaking of bread was no singular thing, but a custom among the Jews. P. Riccius.

What it is to do this in remembrance of Christ.

membering of that opportunity, be the more stirred up to follow him diligently through sufferings and death, &c. But what man of reason, laying aside the prejudice of education, and the influence of tradition, will say, that this account of the *matter of fact* given by *Matthew* and *Mark*, or this expression of *Luke*, to *Do that in remembrance of him*, will amount to these consequences, which the generality of Christians have sought to draw from it; as calling it, *Augustissimum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum; venerabile altaris Sacramentum; the principal seal of the covenant of grace, by which all the benefits of Christ's death are sealed to believers;* and such like things? But to give a further evidence, how these consequences have not any bottom from the practice of that ceremony, nor from the words following, *Do this, &c.* let us consider another of the like nature, as it is at length expressed by *John*, chap. xiii. 3, 4, 8, 13, 14, 15. *Jesus riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments, and took a towel, and girded himself: after that, he poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet; and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded:* Peter *said unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet:* Jesus *answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me. So after he had washed their feet,—he said, Know ye what I have done to you? If I then your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet: for I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.* As to which, let it be observed, that *John* relates this passage to have been done at the same time with the other of *breaking bread;* both being done the night of the *passover*, after supper. If we regard the narration of this, and the circumstances attending it, it was done with far more solemnity, and prescribed far more punctually and particularly than the former. It is said only, *As he was eating, he took bread;* so that this would seem to be but an *occasional*

Christ's washing of feet, & its manner related.

Compared with the breaking of bread.

business: but here *he rose up, he laid by his garments, he girded himself, he poured out the water, he washed their feet, he wiped them with a towel:* he did this to all of them; which are circumstances surely far more observable than those noted in the other. The *former* was a practice common among the *Jews*, used by all masters of families upon that occasion; but *this*, as to the manner, and person acting it, *to wit*, for the master to rise up, and wash the feet of his servants and disciples, was more singular and observable. In the breaking of *bread*, and giving of wine, it is not pleaded by our adversaries, nor yet mentioned in the text, that he particularly put them into the hands of all; but breaking it, and blessing it, gave it the nearest, and so they from hand to hand: but here it is mentioned, that he washed not the feet of one or two, but of many. He saith not in the *former, that if they do not eat of that bread, and drink of that wine, they shall be prejudiced by it;* but here he saith expressly to *Peter*, that *if he wash him not, he hath no part with him;* which being spoken upon *Peter's* refusing to let him wash his feet, would seem to import no less, than not the continuance only, but even the necessity of this *ceremony*. In the former he saith, as it were passingly, *Do this in remembrance of me;* but here he sitteth down again, he desires them to consider what he hath done, tells them positively, *that as he hath done to them, so ought they to do to one another:* and yet again he redoubles that precept, by telling them, *he has given them an example, that they should do so likewise.* If we respect the nature of the thing, it hath as much in it as either *baptism* or the *breaking of bread;* seeing it is an outward element of a cleansing nature, applied to the outward man, by the command and the example of Christ, to signify an inward purifying. I would willingly propose this seriously to men, who will be pleased to make

The washing one another's feet was left as an example.

use of that reason and understanding that God hath given them, and not be imposed upon, nor abused by the custom or tradition of others; *Whether this ceremony, if we respect either the time that it was appointed in, or the circumstances wherewith it was performed, or the command enjoining the use of it, hath not as much to recommend it for a standing ordinance of the gospel, as either* water-baptism, *or* bread *and* wine, *or any other of that kind?* I wonder then what reason the *Papists* can give, why they have not numbered it among their *sacraments*, except merely *Voluntas Ecclesiæ & Traditio Patrum.*

But if they say, *That it is used among them, in that the* Pope, *and some other persons among them, use to do it once a year to some poor people;* Object

I would willingly know what reason they have why this should not be extended to all, as well as that of the *eucharist*, (as they term it,) or whence it appears from the text, that [*Do this in remembrance of me*] should be interpreted that the *bread* and *wine* were every day to be taken by all *priests*, or the *bread* every day, or every week, by the *people;* and that that other command of Christ, *Ye ought to do as I have done to you, &c.* is only to be understood of the *Pope*, or some other persons, to be done only to a few, and that once a year? Surely there can be no other reason for this difference assigned from the text. And as to *Protestants*, who use not this ceremony at all, if they will but open their eyes, they may see how that by custom and tradition they are abused in this matter, as were their fathers in divers *Popish* traditions. For if we look into the plain scripture, what can be thence inferred to urge the one, which may not be likewise pleaded for the other; or for laying aside the one, which may not be likewise said against the continuance of the other? If they say, *That the former, of washing the feet, was only a ceremony;* what have they, whence they can Answ.

The Protestants use not the washing of feet.

show, that this *breaking of bread* is more? If they say, *That the former was only a sign of humility and purifying;* what have they to prove that this was more? If they say, *That one was only for a time, and was no evangelical ordinance;* what hath this to make it such, that the other wanted? Surely there is no way of reason to evade this; neither can any thing be alleged, that the one should cease, and not the other; or the one continue, and not the other; but the mere opinion of the affirmers, which by custom, education, and tradition, hath begotten in the hearts of people a greater reverence for, and esteem of the one than the other; which if it had fallen out to be as much recommended to us by tradition, would no doubt have been as tenaciously pleaded for, as having no less foundation in scripture. But since the former, to wit, *the washing of one another's feet*, is justly laid aside, as not binding upon *Christians;* so ought also the other for the same reason.

The breaking of bread not used now in the same manner as Christ did.

§. VII. But it is strange that those who are so clamorous for this *ceremony*, and stick so much to it, take liberty to dispense with the manner or method that Christ did it in; since none that ever I could hear of, except some *Baptists*, who now do it, use it in the same way that he did: Christ did it at *supper*, while they were eating; but the generality of *Protestants* do it in the *morning* only by itself. What rule walk they by in this change?

Object. If it be said, *These are but circumstances, and not the matter; and if the matter be kept to, the alteration of circumstances is but of small moment;*

Answ. What if it should be said the whole is but a *circumstance*, which fell out at that time when Christ eat the *passover?* For if we have regard to that which alone can be pleaded for an institution, *viz.* these words, *Do this in remembrance of me;* it doth as properly relate to the manner as matter. For what may or can they evince in

reason, that these words, *Do this*, only signify *eat bread*, and *drink wine*, but it is no matter *when ye eat*, nor *how ye eat it;* and not as *ye have seen me eat it at supper with you, who take bread, and break it, and give it you; and take the cup, and bless it, and give it you; so do ye likewise?* And seeing Christ makes no distinction in those words, *Do this*, it cannot be judged in reason but to relate to the whole; which if it do, all those that at present use this ceremony among *Christians*, have not yet obeyed this precept, nor fulfilled this institution, for all their clamours concerning it.

Object

If it be said, *That the time and manner of doing it by Christ was but accidentally, as being after the* Jewish passover, *which was at supper;*

Answ.

Besides that it may be answered, and easily proved, *that the whole was accidental*, as being the *practice of a Jewish ceremony*, as is above observed; may it not the same way be urged, that the *drinking of wine is accidental*, as being the natural product of that country; and so be pleaded, that in those countries where wine doth not grow, as in our nation of *Scotland*, we may make use of *beer* or *ale* in the use of this ceremony; or *bread made of other grain* than that which Christ used? And yet would not our adversaries judge this an abuse, and not right performing of this *sacrament?* Yea, have not scruples of this kind occasioned no little contention among the professors of *Christianity?* What great contest and strife hath been betwixt the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches concerning the *bread?* While the one will have it *unleavened*, reckoning, because the *Jews* made use of *unleavened bread* in the *passover*, that it was such kind of *bread* that Christ did break to his disciples; the other *leavened:* therefore the *Lutherans* make use of *unleavened bread*, the *Calvinists* of *leavened.* And this contest was so hot, when the reformation was beginning at *Geneva*, that

The breaking of bread was a Jewish ceremony.

Contests between the Greek and Latin churches, concerning the leavened and unleavened bread in the supper.

Farellus.

Calvin and *Farellus* were forced to fly for it. But do not *Protestants*, by these uncertainties, open a door to *Papists* for their excluding the people from the *cup?* Will not [*Do this*] infer positively, that they should do it *in the same manner, and at the same time*, as Christ did it; as well as that they should use the *cup*, and not the *bread only?* Or what reason have they to dispense with the one, more than the *Papists* have to do with the other? Oh! what strange absurdities and inconveniencies have *Christians* brought upon themselves, by superstitiously adhering to this ceremony! Out of which difficulties it is impossible for them to extricate themselves, but by laying it aside, as they have done others of the like nature. For besides what is above-mentioned, I would gladly know how from the words they can be certainly resolved that these words [*Do this*] must be understood to the clergy, *Take, bless, and break this bread, and give it to others;* but to the laity only, *Take and eat*, but do not *bless, &c.*

The clergy taking bread, do bless and give it: the laity must take and eat, not bless it.

Object. If it be said, *That the clergy were only present;*

Answ. Then will not that open a door for the *Popish argument* against the *administration of the cup to the people?* Or may not another from thence as easily infer, *That the clergy only ought to partake of this ceremony;* because they were the apostles only then present, to whom it was said, *Do this?* But if this [*Do this*] be extended to all, how comes it all have not liberty to obey it, in both *blessing*, *breaking*, and *distributing*, as well as *taking* and *eating?* Besides all these, even the *Calvinist Protestants* of *Great Britain* could never yet accord among themselves about the *manner of taking it*, whether *sitting*, *standing*, or *kneeling;* whether it should be given to the *sick*, and those that are *ready to die*, or not? Which controversies, though they may be esteemed of small moment, yet have greatly contributed, with other things, to be the occasion not only of *much con-*

Hot contests about the manner of taking it, and to whom to give it.

tention, but also of *bloodshed* and *devastation;* so that in this last respect the *Prelatic Calvinists* have termed the *Presbyterians* schismatical and pertinacious; and they them again superstitious, idolatrous, and papistical. Who then, that will open their eyes, but may see that the devil hath stirred up this contention and zeal, to busy men about things of *small moment*, that *greater matters* may be neglected, while he keeps them in such ado about this ceremony; though they lay aside others of the like nature, as *positively commanded*, and as *punctually practised;* and from the observation of which half so many difficulties will not follow?

§. VIII. How then? Have we not reason, not finding the nature of this practice to be obligatory upon us, more than those others which our adversaries have laid aside, to avoid this confusion; since those that use it can never agree, neither concerning the *nature*, *efficacy*, nor *manner of doing it?* And this proceeds, because they take it not plainly, as it lies in the scripture; but have so much intermixed their own inventions. For would they take it as it lies, it would import no more, than that *Jesus Christ at that time did thereby signify unto them, that his body and blood was to be offered for them;* and desired them, that *whensoever they did eat or drink, they might do it in remembrance of him, or with a regard to him, whose blood was shed for them.* Now that the *primitive church*, gathered immediately after his ascension, did so understand it, doth appear from their use and practice, if we admit those places of the *Acts*, where *breaking of bread* is spoken of, to have relation hereto; which as our adversaries do, so we shall willingly agree to: as first, *Acts* ii. 42. *And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, &c.* This cannot be understood of any other than of their ordinary eating; for as

By breaking of bread they had all things in common, remembering the Lord.

nothing else appears from the text, so the context makes it plain; for they had all things in common: and therefore it is said, verse 46. *And they continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.* Those who will not wilfully close their eyes, may see here, that the *breaking* being joined with their *eating*, shows, that nothing else is here expressed, but that having all things in common, and so continuing together, they also did break their bread, and eat their meat together: in doing whereof, I cannot doubt but they remembered the Lord; to follow whom they had, with so much zeal and resignation, betaken themselves. This is further manifest from *Acts* vi. 2. for the *apostles*, having the care and distribution of that money, which the believers, having sold their possessions, gave unto them, and finding themselves overcharged with that burden, appointed *deacons* for that business, that they might give themselves continually to *prayer*, and to the *ministry of the word;* not leaving that, to serve tables. This cannot be meant of any *sacramental eating*, or *religious act of worship:* seeing our adversaries make the distributing of that the proper act of *ministers*, not of *deacons:* and yet there can be no reason alleged, that that *breaking of bread*, which they are said to have *continued in*, and to have done from *house to house*, was other than those *tables* which the apostles served: but here gave over, as finding themselves overcharged with it. Now as the increase of the disciples did incapacitate the apostles any more to manage this; so it would seem their further increase, and dispersing in divers places, hindered the continuance of that practice of *having things in common:* but notwithstanding, so far at least to remember or continue that *ancient community*, they did at certain times come together, and break bread toge-

Deacons appointed for serving tables.

ther. Hence it is said, *Acts* xx. 7. on *Paul's* coming to *Troas*, that *upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread*, Paul *preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his speech until midnight.* Here is no mention made of any *sacramental eating;* but only that *Paul* took occasion from their being together to preach unto them. And it seems it was a *supper* they intended, (not a *morning-bit* of *bread*, and *sup* of *wine*,) else it is not very probable that *Paul* would from the *morning* have preached until *midnight.* But the 11th verse puts the matter out of dispute, which is thus: *When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread, and eaten, and talked a long while, even till break of day, so he departed.* This shows, that the *breaking of bread* was deferred till that time; for these words [*and when he had broken bread, and eaten*] do show, that it had a relation to the *breaking of bread* before-mentioned, and that that was the time he did it. Secondly, These words joined together [*and when he had broken bread, and eaten, and talked*] show, it was no religious act of worship, but only an eating for bodily refreshment, for which the *Christians* used to meet together some time; and doing it in *God's fear*, and *singleness of heart*, doth notwithstanding difference it from the eating or feasting of *profane persons.* And this by some is called a *love-feast*, or a being together, not merely to feed their bellies, or for outward ends; but to take thence occasion to eat and drink together, in the dread and presence of the Lord, as his people; which *custom* we shall not condemn. But let it be observed, that in all the *Acts* there is no other nor further mention of this matter. But if that *ceremony* had been some *solemn sacrifice*, as some will have it, or such a *special sacrament* as others plead it to be; it is strange that that *history*, which in many less things gives a particular account of the *Christians'* behav-

At Troas the supper deferred till midnight.

They only did eat for refreshing the body.

By some called a love-feast.

iour, should have been so silent in the matter: only we find, that they used sometimes to meet together to break bread, and eat. Now as the *early Christians* began by degrees to depart from that primitive purity and simplicity, so did they also to accumulate superstitious traditions, and vitiate the innocent practices of their predecessors, by the intermixing either of *Jewish* or *Heathenish rites;* and likewise in the use of this, abuses began very early to creep in among Christians, so that it was needful for the apostle *Paul* to reform them, and reprove them for it, as he doth at large, 1 *Cor.* xi. from verse 17. to the end: which place we shall particularly examine, because our adversaries lay the chief stress of their matter upon it; and we shall see whether it will infer any more than we have above granted. First, Because they were apt to use that practice in a superstitious mind beyond the true use of it, so as to make of it some *mystical supper of the Lord*, he tells them, vers. 20. That their *coming together into one place, is not to eat the Lord's supper;* he saith not, *This is not the* right manner *to eat;* but, *This is* NOT *to eat the Lord's supper;* because the *supper of the Lord is spiritual*, and a *mystery*. Secondly, He blames them, in that they came together for the *worse*, and not for the *better;* the reason he gives of this is, vers. 21. *For in eating every one hath taken before his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken.* Here it is plain that the apostle condemns them in that (because this custom of *supping* in general was used among Christians to increase their love, and as a memorial of Christ's supping with the disciples) they had so vitiated it, as to eat it apart, and to come full, who had abundance; and hungry, who had little at home; whereby the very use and end of this *practice* was lost and perverted: and therefore he blames them, that they did not either eat this in common at home, or reserve their eating till they came all together to the public

The Christians began by degrees to depart from the primitive purity.

1 Cor. xi. 17. Concerning the supper of the Lord (so called) explained.

Why the custom of supping in common was used among Christians.

assembly. This appears plainly by the following ver. 22. *Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not?* Where he blames them for their irregular practice herein, in that they despised to eat orderly, or reserve their eating to the public assembly; and so shaming such as not having houses, nor fulness at home, came to partake of the common table; who, being hungry, thereby were ashamed, when they observed others come thither full and drunken. Those that without prejudice will look to the place, will see this must have been the case among the *Corinthians:* for supposing the use of this to have been then, as now used either by *Papists*, *Lutherans*, or *Calvinists*, it is hard making sense of the apostle's words, or indeed to conceive what was the abuse the *Corinthians* committed in this thing. Having thus observed what the apostle said above, because this custom of *eating and drinking together some time* had its rise from Christ's act with the apostles the night he was betrayed; therefore the apostle proceeds, verse 23. to give them an account of that: *For I have received of the Lord thot which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, &c.* Those that understand the difference betwixt a *narration* of a thing, and a *command*, cannot but see, if they will, that there is no command in this place, but only an account of *matter of fact;* he saith not, *I received of the Lord, that as he took bread, so I should command it to you to do so likewise;* there is nothing like this in the place: yea, on the contrary, ver. 25. where he repeats Christ's imperative words to his apostles, he placeth them so as they import no command; *This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me:* and then he adds, *For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come:* but these words [*as often*] import no more a *command*, than to say, *As*

The rise of that custom.

That [as often] imports no command of this supper.

often as thou goest to Rome, *see the Capitol*, will infer a *command* to me to go thither.

Object. But whereas they urge the last words, *Ye show forth the Lord's death till he come;* insinuating, That *this imports a necessary continuance of that* ceremony, *until Christ come at the end of the world to judgment;*

Answ. I answer; They take two of the chief parts of the controversy here for granted, without proof. First, that [*as often*] imports a *command;* the contrary whereof is shown; neither will they ever be able to prove it. Secondly, That this *coming* is to be understood of *Christ's last outward coming*, and not of his *inward* and *spiritual*, that remains to be proved: whereas the apostle might well understand it of his *inward coming* and *appearance*, which perhaps some of those carnal *Corinthians*, that used to come drunken together, had not yet known; and others, being weak among them, and inclinable to dote upon externals, this might have been indulged to them for a season, and even used by those who knew Christ's appearance in Spirit, (as other things were, of which we shall speak hereafter,) especially by the apostle, who became *weak* to the *weak*, and *all* to *all*, that he might *save some*. Now those weak and carnal *Corinthians* might be permitted the use of this, to show forth, or remember Christ's death, till he came to arise in them; for though such need those outward things to put them in mind of *Christ's death*, yet those who are *dead with Christ*, and not only *dead with Christ*, but *buried*, and also *arisen* with him, need not such *signs* to remember him: and to such therefore the apostle saith, *Col.* iii. 1. *If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God:* but *bread* and *wine* are not those things that are above, but are things of the earth. But that this whole matter was a mere act of indulgence and condescension of the apostle *Paul* to the weak and carnal *Corinthians*, appears

Christ's outward & inward coming.

To remember Christ's death till he come to arise in the heart.

yet more by the *Syriac** copy, which, vers. 17. in his entering upon this matter, hath it thus; *In that concerning which I am about to command you*, (or *instruct you*,) *I commend you not, because ye have not gone forward, but are descended unto that which is less*, or *of less consequence:* clearly importing that the apostle was grieved that such was their condition, that he was forced to give them instructions concerning those outward things; and doting upon which, they showed they were not gone forward in the *life of Christianity*, but rather sticking in *beggarly elements*. And therefore vers. 20. the same *version* hath it thus, *When then ye meet together, ye do not do it, as it is just ye should do in the day of the Lord, ye eat and drink it:* thereby showing to them, that to meet together to eat and drink *outward bread and wine*, was not the labour and work of that *day of the Lord*. But since our adversaries are so zealous for this *ceremony*, because used by the church of *Corinth*, (though with how little ground is already shown,) how come they to pass over far more positive commands of the apostles, as matters of no moment? As first, *Acts* xv. 29. where the apostles peremptorily command the *Gentiles*, as that which was the mind of the Holy Ghost, *To abstain from things strangled, and from blood:* and *James* v. 14. where it is expressly commanded, *That the sick be anointed with oil in the name of the Lord.*

To abstain from things strangled. The anointing with oil.

If they say, *These were only temporary things, but not to continue;* Object.

What have they more to show for this; there being no express repeal of them? Answ.

If they say, *The repeal is implied, because the apostle saith, We ought not to be judged in meats and drinks;* Object.

I admit the *answer;* but how can it be prevented from militating the same way against the other practice? Surely not at all: nor can there be any Answ.

* And likewise the other *Oriental Versions*, as the *Arabic* and *Ethiopic*, have it the same way.

thing urged for the one more than for the other, but custom and tradition.

Object. As for that of *James*, they say, *There followed a miracle upon it*, to wit, *The recovery of the sick; but this being ceased, so should the ceremony.*

Answ. Though this might many ways be answered, to wit, That *prayer* then might as well be *forborne*, to which also the *saving of the sick* is there ascribed; yet I shall accept of it, because I judge indeed that *ceremony* is ceased; only methinks, since our adversaries, and that rightly, think a *ceremony* ought to cease where the virtue fails, they ought by the same rule to forbear the *laying on of hands*, in imitation of the apostles, since the gift of the *Holy Ghost* doth not follow upon it.

A ceremony ought to cease, its virtue failing.

Thus laying on of hands.

§. IX. But since we find that several testimonies of scripture do sufficiently show, that such *external rites are no necessary part of the new covenant dispensation, therefore not needful now to continue*, however they were for a season practised of old, I shall instance some few of them, whereby from the nature of the thing, as well as those testimonies, it may appear that the ceremony of *bread and wine* is ceased, as well as those other things confessed by our adversaries to be so. The first is *Rom.* xiv. 17. *For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost:* here the apostle evidently shows, that the *kingdom of God*, or *gospel of Christ*, stands not in *meats and drinks*, and such like things, but in *righteousness, &c.* as by the context doth appear, where he is speaking of the *guilt* and *hazard* of judging one another about *meats and drinks.* So then, if the *kingdom of God* stand not in them, nor the *gospel*, nor *work of Christ*, then the eating of outward *bread and wine* can be no necessary part of the *gospel-worship*, nor any *perpetual ordinance* of it. Another of the same apostle is yet more plain, *Col.* ii. 16. the apostle throughout this whole *second chapter*

The ceremony of bread and wine is ceased.

doth clearly plead for us, and against the *formality* and *superstition* of our opposers: for in the beginning he holds forth the great *privileges* which Christians have by Christ, who are indeed come to the *life of Christianity;* and therefore he desires them, verse 6. *As they have received Christ, so to walk in him; and to beware, lest they be spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit, after the rudiments or elements of the world; because that in Christ, whom they have received, is all fullness: and that they are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands,* (which he calls the *circumcision of Christ*) *and being buried with him by baptism, are also arisen with him through the faith of the operation of God.* Here also they did partake of the *true baptism of Christ;* and being such as are *arisen* with him, let us see whether he thinks it needful they should make use of such *meat and drink* as *bread and wine, to put them in remembrance of Christ's death;* or whether they ought to be judged, that they did it not; verse 16. *Let no man therefore judge you in meat and drink:* Is not *bread* and *wine meat* and *drink?* But why? *Which are a shadow of things to come: but the body is of Christ.* Then since our adversaries confess, that their *bread* and *wine* is a *sign* or *shadow;* therefore, according to the apostle's doctrine, we ought not to be *judged* in the non-observation of it. But is it not fit for those that are *dead with Christ* to be subject to such ordinances? See what he saith, verse 20. *Wherefore, if ye be dead with* Christ *from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances? (Touch not, taste not, handle not: which all are to perish with the using) after the commandments and doctrines of men.* What can be more plain? If this serve not to take away the absolute necessity of the use of *bread* and *wine*, what can serve to take it away? Sure I am, the reason here given is applicable to them, *which all do perish with the using;* since *bread* and *wine* perish

'Tis but a sign and shadow they confess.

And which do perish with the using.

with the using, as much as other things. But further, if the use of *water*, and *bread* and *wine*, were that wherein the very *seals* of the *new covenant* stood, and did pertain to the chief *sacraments* of the *gospel* and *evangelical ordinances*, (so called) then would not the *gospel* differ from the *law*, or be preferable to it. Whereas the apostle shows the difference, *Heb.* ix. 10. in that such kind of observations of the *Jews* were as a sign of the *gospel*, for that they *stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings.* But if the *gospel-worship* and *service* stand in the same, where is the difference?

The law was meats & drinks; not so the gospel.

Object. If it be said, *These under the* gospel *have a spiritual signification;*

Answ. So had those under the *law;* God was the author of those, as well as Christ is pretended to be the author of these. But doth not this contending for the use of *water*, *bread*, and *wine*, as necessary parts of the *gospel-worship*, destroy the nature of it, as if the *gospel* were a dispensation of *shadows*, and not of the *substance?* Whereas the apostle, in that of the *Colossians* above mentioned, argues against the use of these things, as needful to those that are *dead* and *arisen* with Christ, because they are but *shadows.* And since, through the whole *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*, he argues with the *Jews*, to *wean* them from their *old worship*, for this reason, because it was *typical* and *figurative;* is it agreeable to right reason to bring them to another of the same nature? What ground from *scripture* or *reason* can our adversaries bring us, to evince that one *shadow* or *figure* should point to another *shadow* or *figure*, and not to the *substance?* And yet they make the figure of *circumcision* to point to *water-baptism*, and the *paschal lamb* to *bread and wine.* But was it ever known that one figure was the *anti-type* of the other, especially seeing *Protestants* make not these their *anti-types* to have any more virtue and efficacy than the *type* had? For since,

The law has shadows, the gospel brings the substance.

as they say, and that truly, *That their sacraments confer not grace, but that it is conferred according to the faith of the receiver*, it will not be denied but the faithful among the *Jews* received also grace in the use of their *figurative worship*. And though *Papists* boast that their sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*, yet experience abundantly proveth the contrary.

Their sacraments confer not grace.

§. X. But supposing the use of *water-baptism* and *bread and wine* to have been in the primitive church, as was also that of *abstaining from things strangled, and from blood, the use of legal purification*, Acts xxi. 23, 24, 25. and *anointing of the sick with oil*, for the reasons and grounds before mentioned; yet it remains for our adversaries to show us how they come by power or authority to administer them. It cannot be from the letter of the scripture, else they ought also to do those other things, which the letter declares also they did, and which in the letter have as much foundation. Then their power must be *derived from the apostles*, either *mediately* or *immediately;* but we have shown before, in the *tenth proposition*, that they have no *mediate power*, because of the interruption made by the *apostacy;* and for an *immediate power* or *command* by the Spirit of God to administer these things, none of our adversaries pretend to it. We know that in this, as in other things, they make a noise of the *constant consent of the church, and of Christians in all ages;* but as *tradition* is not a sufficient ground for *faith*, so in this matter especially it ought to have but small weight; for that in this point of *ceremonies* and *superstitious observations* the apostacy began very early, as may appear in the *epistle* of *Paul* to the *Galatians* and *Colossians;* and we have no ground to imitate them in those things, whose entrance the apostle so much *withstood*, so heavily *regretted*, and so sharply *reproved*. But if we look to *antiquity*, we find, that in such kind of observan-

Opposers claim a power to give their sacraments; from whence do they derive it?

Tradition no sufficient ground for faith.

ces and traditions they were very uncertain and changeable; so that neither *Protestants* nor *Papists* do observe this ceremony as they did, both in that they gave it to *young boys*, and to *little children:* and for aught can be learned, the use of this and *infant-baptism* are of a like age, though the one be laid aside both by *Papists* and *Protestants*, and the other, to wit, *baptism of infants*, be stuck to. And we have so much the less reason to lay weight upon *antiquity*, for that if we consider their profession of religion, especially as to worship, and the ceremonial part of it, we shall not find any church now, whether *Popish* or *Protestant*, who differ not widely from them in many things, as *Dallæus*, in his treatise concerning the *Use of the Fathers*, well observeth and demonstrateth. And why they should obtrude this upon us because of the *ancients' practice*, which they themselves follow not, or why we may not reject this, as well as they do other things no less zealously practised by the *ancients*, no sufficient reason can be assigned.

The supper they gave to young boys and children.

Dallæus.

Nevertheless I doubt not but many, whose understandings have been clouded with these *ceremonies*, have notwithstanding, by the mercy of God, had some secret sense of the *mystery*, which they could not clearly understand, because it was sealed from them by their sticking to such outward things; and that, through that secret sense, diving in their comprehensions they ran themselves into these carnal apprehensions, as imagining the *substance* of the *bread* was changed, or that if the *substance* was not changed, yet the *body* was there, &c. And indeed I am inclinable very favourably to judge of *Calvin* in this particular, in that he deals so ingenuously to confess he *neither comprehends it, nor can express it in words; but yet by a feeling experience can say, The Lord is spiritually present.* Now as I doubt not but *Calvin* sometimes had a sense of his *presence* without the use of this ceremony, so as the understanding

Calvin's ingenuous confession commended.

given him of God made him justly reject the false notions of *transubstantiation* and *consubstantiation*, though he knew not what to establish instead of them, if he had fully waited in the *light that makes all things manifest*, and had not laboured in his own comprehension to settle upon that external ceremony, by affixing the *spiritual presence* as chiefly or principally, though not only, as he well knew by experience, there, or especially to relate to it, he might have further reached unto the knowledge of this *mystery* than many that went before him.

Eph. v. 13.

§. XI. Lastly, If any now at this day, from a true tenderness of spirit, and with real conscience towards God, did practise this *ceremony* in the same way, method, and manner, as did the *primitive Christians* recorded in scripture, I should not doubt to affirm but they might be indulged in it, and the Lord might regard them, and for a season appear to them in the use of these things, as many of us have known him to do to us in the time of our ignorance; providing always they did not seek to obtrude them upon others, nor judge such as found themselves *delivered* from them, or that they do not pertinaciously adhere to them. For we certainly know that the *day* is *dawned*, in which God hath *arisen*, and hath dismissed all those *ceremonies* and *rites*, and is only to be *worshipped in Spirit*, and that he appears to them who wait upon him; and that to seek God in these things is, with *Mary* at the sepulchre, to *seek the living among the dead:* for we know that he is *risen*, and *revealed in Spirit*, leading his children out of these *rudiments*, that they may walk with him in his *light:* to whom be glory for ever. *Amen.*

In tenderness of conscience, God winketh at our ignorance.

The day is dawned wherein God is risen and worshipped in Spirit.

PROPOSITION XIV.

Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate in Matters purely Religious, and pertaining to the Conscience.

Since God hath assumed to himself the power and Dominion of the *Conscience*, who alone can rightly instruct and govern it, therefore it is not lawful for any whosoever, by virtue of any authority or principality they bear in the government of this world, to force the *consciences* of others; and therefore all killing, banishing, fining, imprisoning, and other such things which are inflicted upon men for the alone exercise of their *conscience*, or difference in *worship* or *opinion*, proceedeth from the spirit of *Cain* the murderer, and is contrary to the truth; providing always, that no man, under the pretence of *conscience*, prejudice his *neighbour* in his life or estate, or do any thing destructive to, or inconsistent with, *human society;* in which case the *law* is for the transgressor, and *justice* is to be administered upon all, without respect of persons.

Luke ix. 55. 56. Mat. vii. 12, 13. 29. Tit. iii. 10.

§. I. Liberty of *conscience* from the power of the civil magistrate hath been of late years so largely and learnedly handled, that I shall need to be but brief in it; yet it is to be lamented that few have walked answerably to this principle, each pleading it for themselves, but scarce allowing it to others, as hereafter I shall have occasion more at length to observe.

It will be fit in the first place, for clearing of mistakes, to say something of the *state* of the *controversy*, that what follows may be the more clearly understood.

By *conscience* then, as in the explanation of the *fifth* and *sixth propositions* I have observed, is to be

understood *that persuasion of the mind which arises from the understanding's being possessed with the belief of the truth or falsity of any thing;* which though it may be false or evil upon the matter, yet if a man should go against his persuasion or conscience, he would commit a sin; because what a man doth contrary to his faith, though his faith be wrong, is no ways acceptable to God. Hence the apostle saith, *Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin; and he that doubteth is damned if he eat;* though the thing might have been lawful to another; and that this doubting to eat some kind of *meats* (since all the creatures of God are good, and for the use of man, *if received with thanksgiving*) might be a superstition, or at least a weakness, which were better removed. Hence *Ames. de Cas. Cons.* saith, *The conscience, although erring, doth evermore bind, so as that he sinneth who doth contrary to his conscience,* because he doth contrary to the will of God, although not materially and truly, yet formally and interpretatively.*

What conscience is.

Rom. xiv. 23.

* i. e. As he supposeth.

So the question is First, *Whether the civil magistrate hath power to force men in things religious to do contrary to their conscience; and if they will not, to punish them in their goods, liberties, and lives?* This we hold in the negative. But *Secondly*, As we would have the *magistrate* to avoid this extreme of encroaching upon men's consciences, so on the other hand we are far from joining with or strengthening such *libertines* as would stretch the liberty of their consciences to the prejudice of their *neighbours*, or to the ruin of *human society*. We understand therefore by *matters of conscience* such as *immediately* relate betwixt *God* and *man*, or *men* and *men*, that are under the same *persuasion*, as to meet together and worship God in that way which they judge is most acceptable unto him, and not to encroach upon, or seek to force their neighbours, otherwise than by reason, or such other means as Christ and his apostles

used, *viz.* Preaching and instructing such as will hear and receive it; but not at all for men, under the notion of conscience, to do any thing contrary to the moral and perpetual statutes generally acknowledged by all *Christians;* in which case the *magistrate* may very lawfully use his authority; as on those, who, under a pretence of *conscience*, make it a principle to kill and destroy all the wicked, *id est*, all that differ from them, that they, to wit, the *saints*, may rule, and who therefore seek to make all things *common*, and would force their neighbours to share their estates with them, and many such wild notions, as is reported of the *Anabaptists* of *Munster;* which evidently appears to proceed from pride and covetousness, and not from purity or conscience; and therefore I have sufficiently guarded against that in the latter part of the *proposition.* But the *liberty* we lay claim to is such as the *primitive church* justly sought under the *heathen emperors*, to wit, for men of sobriety, honesty, and a peaceable conversation, to enjoy the liberty and exercise of their *conscience* towards God and among themselves, and to admit among them such, as, by their persuasion and influence, come to be convinced of the same *truth* with them, without being therefore molested by the civil magistrate. *Thirdly*, Though we would not have men hurt in their temporals, nor robbed of their privileges as men and members of the *commonwealth*, because of their inward persuasion; yet we are far from judging that in the *church of God* there should not be censures exercised against such as fall into error, as well as such as commit open evils; and therefore we believe it may be very lawful for a *Christian church*, if she find any of her members fall into any error, after due admonitions and instructions according to *gospel order*, if she find them pertinacious, to *cut them off* from her fellowship by the *sword of the*

Spirit, and deprive them of those privileges which they had as fellow-members; but not to cut them off from the world by the *temporal sword*, or rob them of their common privileges as men, seeing they enjoy not these as Christians, or under such a fellowship, but as men, and members of the creation. Hence *Chrysostom* saith well, (*de Anath.*) *We must condemn and reprove the evil doctrines that proceed from* Heretics; *but spare the men and pray for their salvation.*

§. II. But that no man, by virtue of any power or principality he hath in the government of this world, hath power over the *consciences of men*, is apparent, because *the conscience of man is the seat and throne of God in him*, of which God is the alone *proper* and *infallible judge*, who by his power and Spirit can alone rectify the mistakes of *conscience*, and therefore hath reserved to himself the power of punishing the errors thereof as he seeth meet. Now for the *magistrate* to assume this, is to take upon him to meddle with things not within the compass of his jurisdiction; for if this were within the compass of his jurisdiction, he should be the proper judge in these things; and also it were needful to him, as an essential qualification of his being a *magistrate*, to be capable to judge in them. But that the *magistrate*, as a *magistrate*, is neither proper judge in these cases, nor yet that the capacity so to be is requisite in him as a *magistrate*, our adversaries cannot deny; or else they must say, That all the *heathen magistrates* were either no *lawful magistrates*, as wanting something essential to magistracy, and this were contrary to the express doctrine of the apostle, *Rom.* xiii. or else (which is more absurd) that those *heathen magistrates* were proper judges in matters of *conscience* among Christians. As for that evasion that the *magistrate* ought to punish according to the church censure and determination, which is indeed no less than to make the

Conscience the throne of God.

magistrate the *church's hangman*, we shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter. But if the chief members of the *church*, though ordained to inform, instruct, and reprove, are not to have dominion over the *faith* nor *consciences* of the faithful, as the apostle expressly affirms, 2 *Cor.* i. 24. then far less ought they to usurp this dominion, or stir up the magistrate to persecute and murder those who cannot yield to them therein.

Secondly, This pretended power of the *magistrate* is both contrary unto, and inconsistent with the nature of the *gospel*, which is a thing altogether extrinsic to the rule and government of *political states*, as Christ expressly signified, saying, His *kingdom* was *not of this world;* and if the propagating of the *gospel* had had any necessary relation thereunto, then Christ had not said so. But he abundantly hath shown by his example, whom we are chiefly to imitate in matters of that nature, that it is by *persuasion* and the *power of God*, not by *whips*, *imprisonments*, *banishments*, and *murderings*, that the gospel is to be propagated; and that those that are the propagators of it are often to suffer by the wicked, but never to cause the wicked to suffer. When he sends forth his disciples, he tells them, he sends them forth as *lambs*
Mat. x. 16. *among wolves*, to be willing to be *devoured*, not to *devour:* he tells them of their being *whipped*, *imprisoned*, and *killed* for their conscience; but never that they shall either *whip*, *imprison*, or *kill:* and indeed if *Christians* must be as *lambs*, it is not the nature of *lambs* to destroy or devour any. It serves nothing to allege, that in Christ's and his apostles' times the *magistrates* were *heathens*, and therefore Christ and his apostles, nor yet any of the believers, being no *magistrates*, could not exercise the power; because it cannot be denied but Christ being the *Son of God*, had a true right to
Mat. xxviii. 18. all *kingdoms*, and was *righteous heir* of the *earth*.

Next, as to his *power*, it cannot be denied but he could, if he had seen meet, have called for *legions of angels* to defend him, and have forced the *princes* and *potentates* of the earth to be subject unto him, *Mat.* xxvi. 53. So that it was only because it was contrary to the nature of *Christ's* gospel and ministry to use any force or violence in the gathering of souls to him. This he abundantly expressed in his reproof to the two sons of *Zebedee*, who would have been calling for *fire from heaven* to burn those that refused to receive Christ: it is not to be doubted but this was as great a crime as now to be in an error concerning the faith and doctrine of Christ. That there was not power wanting to have punished those refusers of *Christ* cannot be doubted; for they that could do other miracles, might have done this also. And moreover, they wanted not the precedent of a holy man under the law, as did *Elias;* yet we see what *Christ* saith to them, *Ye know not what spirit ye are of*, Luke ix. 55. *For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.* Here Christ shows that such kind of zeal was no ways approved of him; and such as think to make way for *Christ* or his *gospel* by this means, do not understand what *spirit they are of.* But if it was not lawful to call for *fire from heaven* to destroy such as refused to receive Christ, it is far less lawful to kindle *fire upon earth* to destroy those that believe in Christ, because they will not believe, nor can believe, as the magistrates do, for conscience' sake. And if it was not lawful for the apostles, who had so large a measure of the Spirit, and were so little liable to mistake, to force others to their judgment, it can be far less lawful now for men, who as experience declareth, and many of themselves confess, are fallible, and often mistaken, to kill and destroy all such as cannot, because otherwise persuaded in their minds, judge and believe in matters of con-

science just as they do. And if it was not according to the wisdom of *Christ*, who was and is *King of kings*, by outward force to constrain others to believe him or receive him, as being a thing inconsistent with the nature of his *ministry* and *spiritual government*, do not they grossly offend him, who will needs be wiser than he, and think to force men against their persuasion to conform to their doctrine and worship? The word of the Lord said, *Not by power and by might, but by the Spirit of the Lord*, Zech. iv. 6. But these say, *Not by the Spirit of the Lord, but by might and carnal power.* The apostle saith plainly, *We wrestle not with flesh*
2 Cor. x. 4. *and blood;* and *the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual:* but these men will needs wrestle with flesh and blood, when they cannot prevail with the Spirit and the understanding; and not having spiritual weapons, go about with carnal weapons to establish *Christ's kingdom*, which they can never do: and therefore when the matter is well sifted, it is found to be more out of *love to self*, and from a principle of *pride* in man to have all others to bow to him, than from the *love of God.* Christ indeed takes another method;
Psal. cx. 3. for he saith, *He will make his people a willing people in the day of his power;* but these men labour against men's wills and consciences, not by *Christ's power*, but by the *outward sword*, to make men *the people of Christ*, which they never can do, as shall hereafter be shown.

But Thirdly, Christ fully and plainly declareth to us his sense in this matter in the parable of the *tares*, Mat. xiii. of which we have himself the interpreter, *verses* 38, 39, 40, 42. where he expounds them to be the *children of the wicked one*, and yet he will not have the servants to meddle with them, lest they pull up the *wheat* therewith. Now it cannot be denied but *heretics* are here included; and although these servants saw the *tares*,

and had a certain discerning of them, yet Christ would not they should meddle, lest they should hurt the *wheat:* thereby intimating, that that capacity in man *to be mistaken*, ought to be a bridle upon him, to make him wary in such matters; and therefore, to prevent this hurt, he gives a positive prohibition, *But he said, Nay*, verse 29. So that they who will notwithstanding be pulling up that which they judge is *tares*, do openly declare, that they make no scruple to break the *commands of Christ.* Miserable is that evasion which some of our adversaries use here, in alleging these *tares* are meant of *hypocrites*, and not of *heretics!* But how to evince that, seeing *heretics*, as well as *hypocrites*, are *children of the wicked one*, they have not any thing but their own bare affirmation, which is therefore justly rejected.

If they say, *Because hypocrites cannot be discerned, but so may heretics;* Object.

This is both false, and a begging of the question. For those that have a *spiritual discerning*, can discern both *hypocrites* and *heretics;* and those that want it, cannot certainly discern either. Seeing the question will arise, *Whether that is a heresy which the magistrate saith is so?* and seeing it is both possible, and confessed by all to have often fallen out, that some *magistrates* have judged that *heresy* which was not, punishing men accordingly for *truth*, instead of *error;* there can be no argument drawn from the obviousness or evidence of *heresy*, unless we should conclude *heresy* could never be mistaken for *truth*, nor *truth* for *heresy;* whereof experience shows daily the contrary, even among Christians. But neither is this shift applicable to this place; for the servants did discern the *tares*, and yet were liable to hurt the *wheat*, if they had offered to pull them up. Answ.

§. III. But they object against this *liberty of conscience*, Deut. xiii. 5. *where false prophets are ap-* Object.

pointed to be put to death; and accordingly they give example thereof.

Answ. The case no way holds parallel; those particular commands to the *Jews*, and practices following upon them, are not a rule for *Christians;* else we might by the same rule say, It were lawful for us to borrow of our neighbours their goods, and so carry them away, because the *Jews* did so by *God's command;* or that it is lawful for *Christians* to invade their neighbours' kingdoms, and cut them all off without mercy, because the *Jews* did so to the *Canaanites*, by the command of God.

Object. If they urge, *That these commands ought to stand, except they be repealed in the gospel;*

Answ. I say, the precepts and practices of Christ and his apostles mentioned are a sufficient repeal: for if we should plead, that every command given to the *Jews* is binding upon us, except there be a particular repeal; then would it follow, that because it was lawful for the *Jews*, if any man killed one, for the nearest kindred presently to kill the murderer, without any order of law, it were lawful for us to do so likewise. And doth not this command of *Deut.* xiii. 9. openly order him who is enticed by another to forsake the Lord, though it were his *brother*, his *son*, his *daughter*, or his *wife*, presently to kill him or her? *Thou shalt surely kill him, thy hand shall be first upon him, to put him to death.* If this command were to be followed, there needed neither *inquisition* nor *magistrate* to do the business; and yet there is no reason why they should shuffle by this part, and not the other; yea, to argue this way from the practice among the *Jews*, were to overturn the very gospel, and to set up again the carnal ordinances among the *Jews*, to pull down the spiritual ones of the *gospel.* Indeed we can far better argue from the *analogy* betwixt the *figurative* and *carnal* state of the *Jews*, and the *real* and *spiritual* one under the gospel; that *as* Moses

delivered the Jews *out of outward* Egypt, *by an outward force, and established them in an outward kingdom, by destroying their outward enemies for them; so Christ, not by overcoming outwardly, and killing others, but by suffering and being killed, doth deliver his chosen ones, the inward* Jews, *out of mystical* Egypt, *destroying their spiritual enemies before them, and establishing among them his spiritual kingdom, which is not of this world.* And as *such as departed from the fellowship of outward* Israel *were to be cut off by the outward sword, so those that depart from the inward* Israel *are to be cut off by the sword of the Spirit:* For it answers very well, That *as the* Jews *were to cut off their enemies outwardly, in order to establish their kingdom and outward worship, so they were to uphold it the same way:* but *as the kingdom and gospel of Christ was not to be established or propagated by cutting off or destroying the* Gentiles, *but by persuading them, so neither is it to be upheld otherwise.*

But Secondly, they urge *Rom.* xiii. where the *magistrate* is said *not to bear the sword in vain, because he is the minister of God, to execute wrath upon such as do evil. But heresy,* say they, *is evil.* Ergo. Object.

But so is *hypocrisy* also; yet they confess he ought not to punish that. Therefore this must be understood of *moral evils*, relative to affairs betwixt man and man, not of matters of *judgment* or *worship;* or else what great absurdities would follow, considering that *Paul* wrote here to the *church* of *Rome*, which was under the government of *Nero*, an impious *heathen*, and *persecutor* of the *church?* Now if a power to punish in point of *heresy* be here included, it will necessarily follow, that *Nero* had this power; yea, and that he had it of God; for because the *power* was of God, therefore the apostle urges their obedience. But can there be any thing more absurd, than to say that *Nero* had power to judge in such cases? Surely if *Christian magistrates* be not to punish for *hypoc-* Answ.

risy, because they cannot outwardly discern it; far less could *Nero* punish any body for *heresy*, which he was uncapable to discern. And if *Nero* had not power to judge or punish in point of *heresy*, then nothing can be urged from this place; since all that is said here, is spoken as applicable to *Nero*, with a particular relation to whom it was written. And if *Nero* had such a power, surely he was to exercise it according to his judgment and conscience, and in doing thereof he was not to be blamed; which is enough to justify him in his persecuting of the apostles, and murdering the Christians.

Object. Thirdly, They object that saying of the apostle to the *Galatians*, v. 12. *I would they were even cut off which trouble you.*

Answ. But how this imports any more than a *cutting off from the church*, is not, nor can be shown. *Beza* upon the place saith, *We cannot understand that otherwise than of excommunication, such as was that of the incestuous* Corinthian. *And indeed it is madness to suppose it otherwise; for* Paul *would not have these cut off otherwise than he did* Hymenæus *and* Philetus, *who were blasphemers; which was by giving them over to Satan, not by cutting off their heads.*

The same way may be answered that other argument, drawn from *Rev.* ii. 20. where the *church of* Thyatira *is reproved for suffering the woman* Jezabel: which can be no otherways understood, than that they did not *excommunicate* her, or cut her off by a *church censure.* For as to corporal punishment, it is known that at that time the *Christians* had not power to punish *heretics* so, if they had had a mind to it.

Object. Fourthly, They allege, that *heresies are numbered among the works of the flesh*, Gal. v. 20. *Ergo, &c.*

Answ. That *magistrates* have power to punish all the works of the flesh is denied, and not yet proved.

Every *evil* is a work of the flesh, but every *evil* comes not under the magistrate's cognizance. Is not *hypocrisy* a work of the flesh, which our adversaries confess the magistrates ought not to punish? Yea, are not *hatred* and *envy* there mentioned as works of the *flesh?* And yet the magistrate cannot punish them, as they are in themselves, until they exert themselves in other acts which come under his power. But so long as *heresy* doth not exert itself in any act destructive to *human society*, or such like things, but is kept within the sphere of those duties of *doctrine* or *worship* which stand betwixt a man and God, they no ways come within the magistrate's power.

§. IV. But Secondly; This forcing of men's consciences is contrary to *sound reason*, and the very *law of nature.* For man's understanding cannot be forced by all the bodily sufferings another man can inflict upon him, especially in matters spiritual and supernatural: *'Tis argument, and evident demonstration of reason, together with the power of God reaching the heart, that can change a man's mind from one opinion to another, and not knocks and blows, and such like things, which may well destroy the body, but never can inform the soul, which is a free agent, and must either accept or reject matters of opinion as they are borne in upon it by something proportioned to its own nature.* To seek to force minds in any other manner, is to deal with men as if they were brutes, void of understanding; and at last is but to lose one's labour, and as the proverb is, *To seek to wash the black-moor white.* By that course indeed men may be made *hypocrites*, but can never be made *Christians;* and surely the products of such *compulsion* (even where the end is obtained, to wit, an outward assent or conformity, whether in *doctrine* or *worship*) can be no ways acceptable to God, who desireth not any sacrifice, except that which cometh thoroughly from the heart, and will have

no constrained ones: so that men, by constraining force, are so far from being members of the *church*, that they are made ten times more the servants of Satan than before; in that to their *error* is added *hypocrisy*, the worst of *evils* in matters of religion, and that which above all things the Lord's soul most abhors.

Object. But if it be said, *Their error notwithstanding is thereby suppressed, and the scandal removed;*

Answ. I answer; Besides that this is a method no ways allowed by Christ, as is above proved, surely the church can be no ways bettered by the accession of *hypocrites*, but greatly corrupted and endangered; for open *heresies* men may be aware of, and shun such as profess them, when they are separated from the church by her censures; but secret *hypocrites* may putrify the body, and leaven it, ere men be aware. And if the dissenters prove resolute, and suffer boldly for the opinions they esteem right, experience showeth that such sufferings often tend to the commendation of the sufferers, but never of the persecutors. For such suffering ordinarily breeds compassion, and begets a curiosity in others to inquire the more diligently into the things for which they see men *suffer* such great *losses* so boldly; and is also able to beget an opinion, that it is for some good they do so suffer: it being no ways probable that men will venture all merely to acquire fame; which may as well be urged to detract from the reputation of all the *martyrs*, unless some better arguments be brought against it than a *halter* or a *faggot*. But supposing this principle, *That the magistrate hath power to force the consciences of his subjects, and to punish them if they will not comply*, very great inconveniences and absurdities will follow, and even such as are inconsistent with the nature of the *Christian religion*.

For First, It will naturally follow that the magistrate ought to do it, and sinneth by omission of his

duty, if he do it not. Will it not then hence be inferred that Christ was defective to his church, who having power to force men, and to call for *legions of angels* so to do, did notwithstanding not exert that power, but left his church to the mercy of the wicked, without so necessary a bulwark?

Secondly, Seeing every magistrate is to exercise his power according to the best understanding he hath, being obliged so to do, for the promoting of what he in conscience is persuaded to be truth, will not this justify all the *heathen Emperors* in their persecutions against *Christians?* Will not this justify the *Spanish inquisition*, which yet is odious not only to *Protestants*, but to many moderate *Papists?* How can *Protestants* in reason condemn the *Papists* for persecuting them, seeing they do but exercise a *lawful power* according to their *conscience* and best understanding, and do no more to them than the sufferers profess they would do to them, if they were in the like capacity? Which takes away all ground of commiseration from the sufferers: whereas that was the ground which of old gained reputation to the *Christians*, that they being innocent, *suffered*, who neither had, nor by principle could, hurt any. But there is little reason to pity one that is but dealt by according as he would deal with others. For to say, *They have no reason to persecute us, because they are in the wrong, and we in the right*, is but miserably to beg the question. Doth not this doctrine strengthen the hands of the persecutors every where, and that rationally, from a principle of self-preservation: For who can blame me for destroying him that I know waits but for an occasion to destroy me, if he could? Yea, this makes all suffering for *religion*, which of old was the glory of *Christians*, to be but of pure necessity; whereby they are not led as *lambs to the slaughter*, as was the *captain of*

their salvation; but rather as *wolves* catched in the snare, who only bite not again because they are not able; but could they get force, would be as ready to lead those the same way that led them. Where is the faith and patience of the saints? For indeed it is but a small glory to make a virtue of necessity, and suffer because I cannot help it. Every thief and murderer would be a *martyr* at that rate: experience hath abundantly proved this in these last *centuries;* for however each party talk of *passively* obeying the *magistrate* in such cases, and that the power resides in him, yet it is apparent, that from this principle it naturally follows, that any party, supposing themselves right, should, so soon as they are able, endeavour at any rate to get uppermost, that they might bring under those of another opinion, and force the *magistrate* to uphold their way, to the ruin of all others. What engine the *pope* of *Rome* used to make of his pretended power in this thing, upon any pretence of dislike to any prince or state, even for very small heresies in their own account, to depose princes, and set up their subjects against them, and give their dominions to other princes to serve his interest, they cannot be ignorant who have read the life of *Hildebrand;* and how *Protestants* have vindicated the liberty of their consciences, after this same manner is apparent. They suffered much in *France*, to the great increase and advantage of their party; but as soon as they found themselves considerable, and had gotten some princes upon their side, they began to let the king know, that they must either have the liberty of their consciences, or else they would purchase it; not by suffering, but by fighting. And the experience of other *Protestant states* shows, that if *Henry* the 4th, to please the *Papists*, had not quitted his religion, to get the crown the more peaceably, and so the *Protestants* had prevailed with the sword, they

would as well have taught the *Papists* with the faggot, and led them to the stake: so that this principle of *persecution* on all hands is the ground of all those miseries and contentions. For so long as any party is persuaded, that it is both lawful for them, and their duty, if in power, to destroy those that differ from them, it naturally follows they ought to use all means possible to get that power, whereby they may secure themselves in the ruin of their adversaries. And that *Papists* judge it not unlawful to compel the magistrate, if they be strong enough to do it, to effect this, experience shows it to be a known *popish* principle, That *the Pope may depose an heretic prince, and absolve the people from the oath of fidelity:* And the *Pope*, as is above-said, hath done so to divers princes; and this doctrine is defended by *Bellarmine* against *Barclay*. The *French* refused *Henry* the Fourth till he quitted his religion. And as for *Protestants*, many of them scruple not to affirm, *That wicked kings and magistrates may be deposed, and killed:* yea, our *Scotch Presbyterians* are as positive in it as any *Jesuits*, who would not admit king *Charles* the Second, though otherwise a *Protestant prince*, unless he would swear to renounce *episcopacy;* a matter of no great difference, though contrary to his conscience. Now how little proportion these things bear with the primitive Christians, and the religion propagated by Christ and his apostles, needs no great demonstration; and it is observable, that notwithstanding many other superstitions crept into the church very early, yet this of *persecution* was so inconsistent with the nature of the gospel, and liberty of conscience, as we have asserted it, such an innate and natural part of the Christian religion, that almost all the *Christian writers*, for the first three hundred years, earnestly contended for it, condemning the contrary opinion.

Athan. in epist. ad solit. vit. ag. Ibid.

§. V. Thus *Athanasius; It is the property of piety not to force, but to persuade, in imitation of our Lord, who forced no body, but left it to the will of every one to follow him, &c. But the devil, because he hath nothing of truth, uses knocks and axes, to break up the doors of such as receive him not. But our Saviour is meek, teaching the truth: whosoever will come after me, and whosoever will be my disciple, &c. but constraining none; coming to us, and knocking rather, and saying, My sister, my spouse, open to me, &c. And entereth when he is opened to, and retires if they delay, and will not open unto him; because it is not with swords, nor darts, nor soldiers, nor armour, that truth is to be declared, but with persuasion and counsel.* And it is observable, that they were the impious *Arians* who first of all brought in this doctrine, to persecute others among Christians, whose successors both *Papists* and *Protestants* are in this matter, whom *Athanasius* thus reproveth further: *Where* (saith he) *have they learned to persecute? Certainly they cannot say they have learned it from the saints; but this hath been given them, and taught them of the devil. The Lord commanded indeed sometimes to flee, and the saints sometimes fled; but to persecute is the invention and argument of the devil, which he seeks against all.* And after he saith, *In so far as the* Arians *banish those that will not subscribe their decrees, they show that they are contrary to Christians, and friends of the devil.*

Athan. apol. 1. de fuga sua, tom. 1.

Hil. contra Aux.

But now, O lamentable! (saith *Hilarius*) *they are the suffrages of the earth that recommend the religion of God, and Christ is found naked of his virtue, while ambition must give credit to his name. The church reproves and fights by banishment and prisons, and forceth herself to be believed, which once was believed because of the imprisonments and banishments herself suffered. She that once was consecrated by the terrors of her persecutors, depends now upon the dignity of those that are in her communion. She that once was propagated by her banished priests, now banisheth the priests. And she*

boasts now, that she is loved of the world, who would not have been Christ's if she had not been hated of the world.

The church (saith *Hierom*) *was founded by shedding of blood, and by suffering, and not in doing of hurt. The church increased by persecutions, and was crowned by martyrdom.* Hieron. epist. 62. ad The.

Ambrose, speaking of *Auxentius*, saith thus, *Whom he* (*viz.* Auxentius) *could not deceive by discourse, he thinks ought to be killed with the sword, making bloody laws with his mouth, writing them with his own hands, and imagining that an edict can command faith.* Amb. epist. 32. tom. 3.

And the same *Ambrose* saith, *That going into* France, *he would not communicate with those bishops that required that heretics should be put to death.* Amb. epist. 27.

The Emperor *Martianus*, who assembled the *council* of *Chalcedon*, protests, *That he would not force nor constrain any one to subscribe the council of* Chalcedon *against his will.* Mart. epist. ad Archimand. &c Mon. Eg. in acta concil. Chalced. tom. 2. conc. gen.

Hosius,* bishop of *Corduba*, testifies, *That the emperor* Constans *would not constrain any to be orthodox.* * Hosi. epist. ad— Constit. apud Ath. in Eph. ad solit. vit. tom. 1.

Hilarius† saith further, *That God teacheth, rather than exacteth, the knowledge of himself, and authorizing his commands by the miracles of his heavenly works; he wills not that any should confess him with a forced will, &c. He is the God of the whole universe, he needs not a forced obedience, nor requires a constrained confession.* † Hil. 1. 1. ad Const.

Christ‡ (saith *Ambrose*) *sent his apostles to sow faith; not to constrain, but to teach; not to exercise coercive power, but to extol the doctrine of humility.* ‡ Ambr. comm. in Luc. l. 7.

Hence *Cyprian*,§ comparing the old covenant with the new, saith, *Then were they put to death with the outward sword; but now the proud and contumacious are cut off with the spiritual sword, by being cast out of the church.* And this answers very well that *objection* before observed, taken from the practice of the *Jews* under the law. § Cypr. epist. 62.

* Tertul. Apol. c.24.

*See** (saith *Tertullian* to the *heathens*) *if it be not to contribute to the renown of irreligion, to seek to take away the liberty of religion, and to hinder men their choice of God, that I may not be admitted to adore whom I will, but must be constrained to serve him whom I will not. There is none, nay, not a man, that desires to be adored by any against their will.* And again, *It is a thing that easily appears to be unjust, to constrain and force men to sacrifice against their wills; seeing to do the service of God there is required a willing heart.* And again, *It is an human right and natural power that every one worship what he esteems; and one man's religion doth not profit nor hurt another. Neither is it any piece of religion to enforce religion; which must be undertaken by consent, and not by violence, seeing that the sacrifices themselves are not required, but from a willing mind.*

Id. Apol. c. 28.

Idem ad Scapul. c. 2.

Now how either *Papists* or *Protestants*, that boast of antiquity, can get by these plain testimonies, let any rational man judge. And indeed I much question if in any one point owned by them, and denied by us, they can find all the *old fathers* and *writers* so exactly unanimous. Which shows how contrary all of them judged this to be to the nature of Christianity, and that in the point of *persecution* lay no small part of the apostacy; which, from little to more, came to that, *that the* pope, *upon every small discontent, would excommunicate princes, absolve their subjects from obeying them, and turn them in and out at his pleasure.* Now if *Protestants* do justly abhor these things among *Papists*, is it not sad that they should do the like themselves? A thing that at their first appearance, when they were in their primitive innocency, they did not think on, as appears by that saying of *Luther*; *Neither pope nor bishop, nor any other man, hath power to oblige a Christian to one syllable, except it be by his own consent.* And again, *I call boldly to all Christians, that neither man nor angel can impose any law upon*

Luth. lib. de captivitate Babylon.

them, but so far as they will; for we are free of all. And when he appeared at the diet of *Spiers*, before the emperor, in a particular conference he had before the archbishop of *Triers* and *Joachim* elector of *Brandenburgh*, when there seemed no possibility of agreeing with his opposers, they asking him, *What remedy seemed to him most fit?* He answered, *The counsel that* Gamaliel *proposed to the Jews*, to wit, *That if this design was of God, it would stand; if not, it would vanish; which he said ought to content the pope:* he did not say, *because he was in the right he ought to be spared.* For this *counsel* supposeth that those that are tolerated may be wrong; and yet how soon did the same *Luther*, ere he was well secure himself, press the elector of *Saxony* to banish poor *Carolostadius*, because he could not in all things submit to his judgment? And certainly it is not without ground reported, that it smote *Luther* to the heart; so that he needed to be comforted, when he was informed, that *Carolostadius*, in his letter to his congregation, styled himself *A man banished for conscience, by the procurement of* Martin Luther. And since both the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* not admitting one another to worship in those respective dominions, showeth how little better they are than either *Papists* or *Arians* in this particular. And yet *Calvin* saith, That *the conscience is free from the power of all men:* if so, why then did he cause *Castellio* to be banished because he could not, for *conscience' sake*, believe as he did, *That God had ordained man to be damned?* And *Servetus* to be burned for denying the *divinity of Christ*, if *Calvin's* report of him be to be credited? Which opinion, though indeed it was to be abominated, yet no less was *Calvin's* practice in causing him to be burned, and afterwards defending that it was lawful to burn *heretics;* by which he encouraged the *Papists* to lead his followers the more confidently to the stake, as having for their war-

History of the council of Trent.

Calv. inst. l. 3. c. 19. sect. 14.

rant the doctrine of their own *sect-master;* which they omitted not frequently to remind them of and indeed it was to them unanswerable. Hence, upon this occasion, the judicious author of the *History of the Council of Trent*, in his *fifth book*, where giving an account of several *Protestants* that were burned for their religion, well and wisely observeth it, *as a matter of astonishment, that those of the new reformation did offer to punish in the case of religion.* And afterwards taking notice that *Calvin* justifies the punishing of *heretics*, he adds, *But since the name of* heresy *may be more or less restricted, yea, or diversely taken, this doctrine may be likewise taken in divers senses, and may at one time hurt those, whom at another time it may have benefitted.*

Protestant persecution strengthens the popish inquisition.

So that this doctrine of *persecution* cannot be maintained by *Protestants*, without strengthening the hands of *popish inquisitors;* and indeed in the end lands in direct *popery; seeing, if I may not profess and preach that religion, which I am persuaded in my own conscience is true, it is to no purpose to search the scriptures, or to seek to choose my own faith by convictions thence derived; since whatever I there observe, or am persuaded of, I must either subject to the judgment of the magistrate and church of that place I am in, or else resolve to remove, or die.* Yea, doth not this *heretical* and *antichristian doctrine*, both of *Papists* and *Protestants*, at last resolve into that cursed policy of *Mahomet, who prohibited all reason or discourse about religion, as occasioning factions and divisions?* And indeed those that press *persecution*, and deny *liberty of conscience*, do thereby show themselves more the disciples of *Mahomet* than of *Christ;* and that they are no ways followers of the apostle's doctrine, who desired the *Thessalonians to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*, 1 Thess. v. 21. And also saith, *Unto such as are otherwise minded, God shall reveal it*, Phil. iii. 15.

not that by beatings and banishments it must be knocked into them.

§. VI. Now the *ground* of *persecution*, as hath been above shown, is an *unwillingness to suffer;* for no man, that will persecute another for his *conscience*, would suffer for his own, if he could avoid it, seeing his principle obliges him, if he had power, by force to establish that which he judges is the *truth*, and so to force others to it. Therefore I judge it meet, for the information of the nations, briefly to add something in this place concerning the *nature of true Christian sufferings*, whereunto a very faithful testimony hath been borne by *God's witnesses*, which he hath raised up in this age, beyond what hath been generally known or practised for these many generations, yea, since the apostacy took place. Yet it is not my design here in any wise to derogate from the sufferings of the *Protestant martyrs*, whom I believe to have walked in faithfulness towards God, according to the dispensations of *light* in that day appearing, and of which many were utter enemies to *persecution*, as by their testimonies against it might be made appear.

The ground of persecution.

But the true, faithful, and Christian suffering is *for men to profess what they are persuaded is right, and so practise and perform their worship towards God, as being their true right so to do; and neither to do more in that, because of outward encouragement from men, nor any whit less, because of the fear of their laws and acts against it.* Thus for a Christian man to vindicate his just liberty with so much boldness, and yet innocency, will in due time, though through blood, purchase peace, as this age hath in some measure experienced, and many are witnesses of it; which yet shall be more apparent to the world, as *truth* takes place in the earth. But they greatly sin against this excellent rule, that in time of *persecution* do not profess their own way so much as they would if it were otherwise; and yet, when

What true suffering is.

they can get the magistrate upon their side, not only stretch their own liberty to the utmost, but seek to establish the same by denying it to others.

The innocent sufferings of the people called Quakers.

But of this excellent patience and sufferings, the witnesses of God, in scorn called *Quakers*, have given a manifest proof: for so soon as God revealed his *truth* among them, without regard to any opposition whatsoever, or what they might meet with, they went up and down, as they were moved of the Lord, preaching and propagating the *truth* in market-places, highways, streets, and public temples, though daily beaten, whipped, bruised, haled, and imprisoned therefor. And when there was any where a church or assembly gathered, they taught them to keep their meetings openly, and not to shut the door, nor do it by stealth, that all might know it, and those who would might enter. And as hereby all just occasion of fear of plotting against the government was fully removed, so this their courage and faithfulness in not giving over their meeting together, (but more especially the presence and glory of God manifested in the meeting being terrible to the consciences of the persecutors,) did so weary out the malice of their adversaries, that oftentimes they were forced to leave their work undone. For when they came to break up a meeting, they were obliged to take every individual out by force, they not being free to give up their liberty by dissolving at their command: and when they were haled out, unless they were kept forth by violence, they presently returned peaceably to their place. Yea, when sometimes the magistrates have pulled down their meeting-houses, they have met the next day openly upon the rubbish, and so by innocency kept their possession and ground, being properly their own, and their right to meet and worship God being not forfeited to any. So that when armed men have come to dissolve them, it was

impossible for them to do it, unless they had killed every one; for they stood so close together, that no force could move any one to stir, until violently pulled thence: so that when the malice of their opposers stirred them to take shovels, and throw the rubbish upon them, there they stood unmoved, being willing, if the Lord should so permit, to have been there buried alive, witnessing for him. As this patient but yet courageous way of suffering made the persecutors' work very heavy and wearisome unto them, so the courage and patience of the sufferers, using no resistance, nor bringing any weapons to defend themselves, nor seeking any ways revenge upon such occasions, did secretly smite the hearts of the persecutors, and made their chariot wheels go on heavily. Thus after much and many kind of sufferings thus patiently borne, which to rehearse would make a volume of itself, which may in due time be published to the nations, (for we have them upon record,) a kind of *negative liberty* has been obtained; so that at present for the most part we meet together without disturbance from the magistrate. But on the contrary, most *Protestants*, when they have not the allowance and toleration of the magistrate, meet only in secret, and hide their testimony; and if they be discovered, if there be any probability of making their escape by force, (or suppose it were by cutting off those that seek them out,) they will do it; whereby they lose the glory of their sufferings, by not appearing as the innocent followers of Christ, nor having a testimony of their harmlessness in the hearts of their pursuers, their fury, by such resistance, is the more kindled against them. As to this last part, of resisting such as persecute them, they can lay claim to no precept from Christ, nor any example of him or his apostles approved.

Object. But as to the first part, for fleeing and meeting secretly, and not openly testifying for the truth, they usually object that saying of Christ, Mat x. 23. *When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.* And *Acts* ix. 4. *That the disciples met secretly for fear of the Jews.* And *Acts* ix. 25. *That* Paul *was let out of* Damascus *in a basket down by the wall.*

Answ. To all which I answer, First, As to that saying of Christ, it is a question if it had any further relation than to that particular message with which he sent them to the *Jews;* yea, the latter end of the words seems expressly to hold forth so much; *For ye shall not have gone over the cities of* Israel *till the son of man be come.* Now a particular practice or command for a particular time will not serve for a precedent to any at this day to shun the cross of Christ. But supposing this precept to reach farther, it must be so understood to be made use of only according as the Spirit giveth liberty, else no man that could flee might suffer persecution. How then did not the apostles *John* and *Peter* flee, when they were the first time persecuted at *Jerusalem?* But, on the contrary, went the next day, after they were discharged by the council, and preached boldly to the people. But indeed many are but too capable to stretch such sayings as these for self-preservation, and therefore have great ground to fear, when they interpret them, that they shun to witness for Christ, for fear of hurt to themselves, lest they mistake them. As for that private meeting of the disciples, we have only an account of the matter of fact, but that suffices not to make of it a precedent for us; and men's aptness to imitate them in that (which, for aught we know, might have been an act of weakness) and not in other things of a contrary nature, shows that it is not a true zeal to be like those disciples, but indeed a desire to preserve themselves, which

Fleeing in time of persecution not allowed.

moves them so to do. Lastly, as to that of *Paul's* being conveyed out of *Damascus*, the case was singular, and is not to be doubted but it was done by a special allowance from God, who having designed him to be a principal minister of his gospel, saw meet in his wisdom to disappoint the wicked counsel of the *Jews*. But our adversaries have no such pretext for *fleeing*, whose *fleeing* proceeds from self-preservation, not from immediate revelation. And that *Paul* made not this the method of his procedure, appears, in that at another time, notwithstanding the persuasion of his friends, and certain prophecies of his sufferings to come, he would not be dissuaded from going up to *Jerusalem*, which according to the forementioned rule he should have done.

But Lastly, To conclude this matter, glory to God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that now these *twenty-five years*, since we were known to be a distinct and separate people, hath given us faithfully to suffer for his *name*, without shrinking or fleeing the cross; and what liberty we now enjoy, it is by his mercy, and not by any outward working or procuring of our own, but it is He has wrought upon the hearts of our opposers. Nor was it any outward interest hath procured it unto us, but the testimony of our harmlessness in the hearts of our superiors: for God hath preserved us hitherto in the *patient suffering of Jesus*, that we have not given away our cause by persecuting any, which few if any Christians that I know can say. Now against our unparallelled yet innocent and Christian cause our malicious enemies have nothing to say, but that if we had power, we should do so likewise. This is a piece of mere unreasonable malice, and a privilege they take to judge of things to come, which they have not by immediate revelation; and surely it is the greatest height of harsh judgment to say men would do contrary to their *professed*

§. I. Having hitherto treated of the principles of religion, both relating to *doctrine* and *worship*, I am now to speak of some practices which have been the product of these *principles*, in those witnesses whom God hath raised up in this day to testify for his *truth*. It will not a little commend them, I suppose, in the judgment of sober and judicious men, that taking them generally, even by the confession of their adversaries, they are found to be free of those abominations which abound among other professors, such as are *swearing*, *drunkenness*, *whoredom*, *riotousness*, *&c.* and that generally the very coming among this people doth naturally work such a change, so that many vicious and profane persons have been known, by coming to this *truth*, to become sober and virtuous; and many light, vain, and wanton ones to become grave and serious, as our adversaries dare not deny: *Yet that they may not want something to detract us for, cease not to accuse us for those things, which, when found among themselves, they highly commend; thus our *gravity* they call *sullenness;* our *seriousness*, *melancholy;* our *silence*, *sottishness*. Such as have been vicious and profane among them, but by coming to us have left off those evils, lest they should commend the truth of our profession, they say, that whereas they were profane before, they are become worse, *in being hypocritical and spiritually proud*. If any before *dissolute* and *profane* among them, by coming to the truth with us, become *frugal* and *diligent*, then they will charge them with *covetousness:* and if any *eminent* among them for *seriousness*, *piety*, and *discoveries of God*, come unto us,

* After this manner the *Papists* used to disapprove the sobriety of the *Waldenses*, of whom *Reinerus*, a Popish author, so writeth. "But this Sect of the *Leonists* hath a great show of truth; for that they live righteously before men, and believe all things well of God, and all the articles which are contained in the Creed; only they blaspheme and hate the church of *Rome*."

then they will say, they were always subject to *melancholy* and to *enthusiasm;* though before, when among them, it was esteemed neither *melancholy* nor *enthusiasm* in an evil sense, but *Christian gravity* and *divine revelation.* Our *boldness* and *Christian suffering* they call *obstinacy* and *pertinacy;* though half as much, if among themselves, they would account *Christian courage* and *nobility.* And though thus by their envy they strive to read all relating to us backwards, counting those things vices in us, which in themselves they would extol as virtues, yet hath the strength of truth extorted this confession often from them, *That we are generally a pure and clean people, as to the outward conversation.*

But this, they say, *is but in policy to commend our heresy.*

But such policy it is, say I, as Christ and his apostles made use of, and all good Christians ought to do; yea, so far hath truth prevailed by the purity of its followers, that if one that is called a *Quaker* do but that which is common among them, as to *laugh* and be *wanton*, *speak at large*, and keep not his *word* punctually, or be overtaken with *hastiness* or *anger*, they presently say, *O this is against your profession!* As if indeed so to do were very consistent with theirs; wherein though they speak the truth, yet they give away their cause. But if they can find any under our name in any of those evils common among themselves, (as who can imagine but among so many thousands there will be some chaff, since of twelve apostles one was found to be a devil,) O how will they insult, and make more noise of the escape of one *Quaker*, than of an hundred among themselves!

§. II. But there are some singular things, which most of all our adversaries plead for the lawfulness of, and allow themselves in, as no ways inconsistent with the *Christian religion*, which we have found to be no ways lawful unto us, and

have been commanded of the Lord to lay them aside; though the doing thereof hath occasioned no small sufferings and buffetings, and hath procured us much hatred and malice from the world. And because the nature of these things is such, that they do upon the very sight distinguish us, and make us known, so that we cannot hide ourselves from any, without proving unfaithful to our testimony; our trials and exercises have herethrough proved the more numerous and difficult, as will after appear. These I have laboured briefly to comprehend in this proposition; but they may more largely be exhibited in these six following propositions.

I. *That it is not lawful to give to men such flattering titles, as Your Holiness, Your Majesty, Your Eminency, Your Excellency, Your Grace, Your Lordship, Your Honour, &c. nor use those flattering words, commonly called* [COMPLIMENTS.] **Flattering titles.**

II. *That it is not lawful for Christians to kneel, or prostrate themselves to any man, or to bow the body, or to uncover the head to them.* **Hat and knee.**

III. *That it is not lawful for Christians to use superfluities in apparel, as are of no use save for ornament and vanity.* **Apparel.**

IV. *That it is not lawful to use games, sports, plays, nor among other things comedies among Christians, under the notion of recreations, which do not agree with Christian silence, gravity, and sobriety: for laughing, sporting, gaming, mocking, jesting, vain talking, &c. is not Christian liberty, nor harmless mirth.* **Gaming.**

V. *That it is not lawful for Christians to swear at all under the gospel, not only not vainly, and in their common discourse, which was also forbidden under the* Mosaical *law, but even not in judgment before the magistrate.* **Swearing.**

VI. *That it is not lawful for Christians to resist evil, or to war or fight in any case.* **Fighting.**

Degrees of dignity & precedency allowed.

Before I enter upon a particular disquisition of these things, I shall first premise some general considerations, to prevent all mistakes; and next add some general considerations, which equally respect all of them. I would not have any judge, that hereby we intend to destroy the *mutual relation* that either is betwixt *prince* and *people*, *master* and *servants*, *parents* and *children;* nay, not at all; we shall evidence, that our principle in these things hath no such tendency, and that these natural relations are rather better established, than any ways hurt by it. Next, Let not any judge, that from our opinion in these things, any necessity of *levelling* will follow, or that all men must have things in *common.* Our principle leaves every man to enjoy that peaceably, which either his own industry, or his parents, have purchased to him; only he is thereby instructed to use it aright, both for his own good, and that of his brethren; and all to the glory of God: in which also his acts are to be *voluntary*, and no ways *constrained.* And further, we say not hereby, that no man may use the creation more or less than another: for we know, that as it hath pleased God to dispense it diversely, giving to some more, and some less, so they may use it accordingly. The several conditions, under which men are diversely stated, together with their educations answering thereunto, do sufficiently show this: the *servant* is not the same way educated as the *master;* nor the *tenant* as the *landlord;* nor the *rich* as the *poor;* nor the *prince* as the *peasant.* Now, though it be not lawful for any, however great abundance they may have, or whatever their education may be, to use that which is merely superfluous; yet seeing their education has accustomed them thereunto, and their capacity enables them so to do, without being profuse or extravagant, they may use things better in their kind, than such whose *education* hath neither accustomed them to such

Education differs accordingly.

things, nor their capacity will reach to compass them. For it is beyond question, that whatever thing the *creation* affords is for the use of man, and the moderate use of them is lawful; yet, *per accidens*, they may be unlawful to some, and not to others. As for instance, he that by reason of his estate and education hath been used to eat *flesh* and drink *wine*, and to be clothed with the *finest wool*, if his estate will bear it, and he use it neither in superfluity, nor immoderately, he may do it; and perhaps, if he should apply himself to feed, or be clothed as are the peasants, it might prejudice the health of his body, and nothing advance his soul. But if a man, whose estate and education had accustomed him to both *coarser food* and *raiment*, should stretch himself beyond what he had, or were used to, to the manifest prejudice of his family and children, no doubt it would be unlawful to him, even so to eat or be clothed as another, in whom it is lawful; for that the other may be as much mortified, and have denied himself as much in coming down to that, which this aspires to, as he, in willing to be like him, aspires beyond what he either is able, or hath accustomed to do. The safe place then is, for such as have fulness, to watch over themselves, that they use it moderately, and rescind all superfluities; being willing, as far as they can, to help the need of those to whom Providence hath allotted a smaller allowance. *Let the brother of high degree rejoice, in that he is abased; and such as God calls in a low degree, be content with their condition, not envying those brethren who have greater abundance*, knowing *they have received abundance, as to the inward man;* which is chiefly to be regarded. And therefore beware of such a temptation, as to use their calling as an engine to be *richer*, knowing, they have this advantage beyond the *rich* and *noble* that are called, that the truth doth not any ways abase them, nay, not in the

The lawful or unlawful use of the creation.

The rich to help the poor.

esteem of the world, as it doth in the other; but that they are rather exalted thereby, in that as to the inward and spiritual fellowship of the saints, they become the brethren and companions of the greatest and richest; and in this respect, *Let him of low degree rejoice that he is exalted.*

These things premised, I would seriously propose unto all such, as choose to be *Christians* indeed, and that in *nature*, and not in *name* only, whether it were not desirable, and would not greatly contribute to the commendation of *Christianity*, and to the increase of the life and virtue of Christ, if *all superfluous titles of honour, profuseness and prodigality in meat and apparel, gaming, sporting, and playing*, were laid aside and forborne? And whether such as lay them aside, in so doing, walk not more like the disciples of Christ and his apostles, and are therein nearer their example, than such as use them? Whether the laying them aside would hinder any from being good Christians? Or if Christians might not be better without them, than with them? Certainly the *sober* and *serious* among all sorts will say, *Yea.* Then surely such as lay them aside, as reckoning them unsuitable for Christians, are not to be blamed, but rather commended for so doing: because that in principle and practice they effectually advance that, which others acknowledge were desirable, but can never make effectual, so long as they allow the use of them as lawful. And God hath made it manifest in this age, that by discovering the evil of such things, and leading his witnesses out of them, and to testify against them, he hath produced effectually in many that *mortification* and *abstraction* from the *love and cares of this world*, who daily are conversing in the world (but inwardly redeemed out of it) both in *wedlock*, and in their lawful employments, which was judged could only be obtained by such as were shut up in *cloisters* and *monasteries.* Thus much in general.

§. III. As to the first we affirm positively, That *it is not lawful for Christians either to give or receive these titles of honour*, as, *Your Holiness*, *Your Majesty*, *Your Excellency*, *Your Eminency*, *&c.*

Titles.

First, Because these *titles* are no part of that obedience which is due to *magistrates* or *superiors;* neither doth the giving them add to or diminish from that subjection we owe to them, which consists *in obeying their just and lawful commands*, not in *titles* and *designations.*

Under the law and gospel.

Secondly, We find not that in the scripture any such *titles* are used, either under the *law* or the *gospel:* but that in the speaking to *kings*, *princes*, or *nobles*, they used only a simple compellation, as, *O King!* and that without any further designation, save perhaps the name of the person, as, *O King* Agrippa, &c.

Lying titles.

Thirdly, It lays a necessity upon *Christians* most frequently to *lie;* because the persons obtaining these *titles*, either by election or hereditarily, may frequently be found to have nothing really in them deserving them, or answering to them: as some to whom it is said, *Your Excellency*, having nothing of *excellency in them;* and he who is called *Your Grace*, appears to be an enemy to *grace;* and he who is called *Your Honour*, is known to be base and ignoble. I wonder what law of man, or what patent ought to oblige me to make a lie, in calling *good*, *evil;* and *evil*, *good?* I wonder what law of man can secure me, in so doing, from the just judgment of God, that will make me account for *every idle word?* And to *lie* is something more. Surely Christians should be ashamed that such laws, manifestly crossing the law of God, should be among them.

Patents do not oblige to a lie.

Object.

If it be said, *We ought in charity to suppose that they have these virtues, because the king has bestowed those titles upon them, or that they are descended of such as deserved them;*

Answ. I answer, *Charity* destroys not *knowledge:* I am not obliged by *charity*, either to believe or speak a *lie*. Now it is apparent, and cannot be denied by any, but that those virtues are not in many of the persons expressed by the *titles* they bear; neither will they allow to speak so to such, in whom these virtues are, unless they be so dignified by outward princes. So that such as are truly virtuous, must not be styled by their virtues, because not privileged by the princes of this world; and such as have them not, must be so called, because they have obtained a patent so to be: and all this is done by those, who pretend to be his followers, that commanded his disciples, *Not to be called of men Master;* and told them, such could *not believe, as received honour one from another, and sought not the honour which cometh from God only.* This is so plain, to such as will indeed be *Christians*, that it needs no consequence.

Your Holiness, Your Grace, &c. Fourthly, As to those titles of *Holiness*, *Eminency*, and *Excellency*, used among the *Papists* to the *Pope* and *Cardinals*, *&c.* and *Grace*, *Lordship*, and *Worship*, used to the *Clergy* among the *Protestants*, it is a most blasphemous usurpation. For if they use *Holiness* and *Grace*, because these things ought to be in a *Pope*, or in a *Bishop*, how come they to usurp that peculiarly to themselves? Ought not *holiness* and *grace* to be in every Christian? And so every Christian should say, *Your Holiness*, and *Your Grace*, one to another. Next, how can they in reason claim any more *titles*, than were practised and received by the apostles and primitive Christians, whose successors they pretend they are, and as whose successors (and no otherwise) themselves, I judge, will confess any honour they seek is due to them? Now if they neither sought, received, nor admitted such *honour* nor *titles*, how came these by them? If they say they did, let them prove it if they can: we find no such thing

in the scripture. The Christians speak to the apostles without any such denomination, neither saying *If it please Your Grace, Your Holiness, Your Lordship*, nor *Your Worship;* they are neither called *My Lord* Peter, nor *My Lord* Paul; nor yet *Master* Peter, nor *Master* Paul; nor *Doctor* Peter, nor *Doctor* Paul; but singly *Peter* and *Paul;* and that not only in the scripture, but for some hundreds of years after: so that this appears to be a manifest fruit of the apostacy. For if these *titles* arise either from the *office* or *worth* of the persons, it will not be denied, but the apostles deserved them better than any now that call for them. But the case is plain, the apostles had the *holiness*, the *excellency*, the *grace;* and because they were *holy*, *excellent*, and *gracious*, they neither used, nor admitted of such *titles;* but these having neither *holiness*, *excellency*, nor *grace*, will needs be so called, to satisfy their ambitious and ostentatious minds, which is a manifest token of their *hypocrisy*.

Hypocrites want titles.

Fifthly, As to that title of *Majesty*, usually ascribed to princes, we do not find it given to any such in the holy scripture; but that it is specially and peculiarly ascribed unto God, as 1 *Chron.* xxix. 11. *Job.* xxxvii. 22. *Psal.* xxi. 5. and xxix. 4. and xlv. 3. and cxiii. 1. and cxvi. 6. *Isa.* ii. 10. and xxiv. 14. and xxvi. 10. *Heb.* i. 3. 2 *Pet.* i. 16. and many more places. Hence saith *Jude*, ver. 25. *To the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, &c.* not to men. We find in scripture the proud king *Nebuchadnezzar* assuming this *title* to himself, *Dan.* iv. 30. who at that time received a sufficient reproof, by a sudden judgment which came upon him. Therefore in all the compellations used to princes in the *Old Testament*, it is not to be found, nor yet in the *New*. *Paul* was very civil to *Agrippa*, yet he gives him no such *title:* neither was this *title* used among Christians in the primitive times. Hence the *Ecclesiastical History* of the Reformation of *France*, re-

lating the speech of the Lord *Rochefort*, at the assembly of the estates of *France*, held under *Charles* the Ninth, in the year 1560, saith, *That this harangue was well remarked, in that he used not the word* [Majesty] *invented by flatterers of late years.* And yet this author minded not how his master *Calvin* used this *flattering title* to *Francis* the First, King of *France;* and not only so, but calls him *Most Christian King*, in the epistle to his *Institutions;* though by his daily persecuting of the *reformers*, it was apparent, he was far from being such, even in *Calvin's* own esteem. Surely the complying with such vain *titles*, imposed and introduced by *antichrist*, greatly tended to stain the *reformation*, and to render it defective in many things.

Eccles. Hist. l. 4. p. 445.

Your Majesty not used; how taken notice of in 1560.

Lastly, All these *titles* and *styles* of *honour* are to be rejected by *Christians*, because they are to seek the *honour that comes from above*, and not the *honour* that is from *below:* but these honours are not that honour that comes from above, but are from below. For we know well enough what industry, and what pains men are at to get these things, and what part it is that seeks after them, to wit, the *proud, insolent, haughty, aspiring mind.* For judge, Is it the *meek* and *innocent Spirit of Christ* that covets that honour? Is it that Spirit that must be of *no reputation in this world*, that has its *conversation in heaven*, that comes to have *fellowship with the sons of God?* Is it that Spirit, I say, that loves that honour, that seeks after that honour, that pleads for the upholding of that honour, that frets, and rages, and fumes, when it is denied that honour? Or is it not rather the lordly insulting spirit of *Lucifer*, the *prince of this world*, he that of old affected and sought after this honour, and loved not to abide in the submissive low place? And so all his children are possessed with the same ambitious proud mind, seeking and coveting *titles* of *honour*, which indeed belong not to them. For

The proud mind loves titles.

Phil. iii. 20.

Lucifer's spirit.

let us examine, **Who they are that are honourable indeed?* Is it not the *righteous man?* Is it not the *holy man?* Is it not the *humble-hearted man*, the *meek-spirited man?* And are not such those that ought to be *honoured* among *Christians?* Now of these, may there not be poor Men, Labourers, silly Fishermen? And if so, how comes it that the *titles* of *honour* are not bestowed upon such? But who are they that generally receive and look for this honour? Are they not the rich ones, such as have abundance of the earth, as be like the rich glutton, such as are proud and ambitious, such as are oppressors of the poor, such as swell with lust and vanity, and all *superfluity of naughtiness*, who are the very abomination and plague of the nations? Are not these they that are accounted honourable, that require and receive the titles of honour, proud *Hamans?* Now whether is this the honour that comes from God, or the honour from below? Doth God honour such as daily dishonour him, and disobey him? And if this be not the honour that comes from God, but the honour of this world, which the children of this world give and receive one from another; how can the children of God, such as are Christians indeed, give or receive that honour among themselves, without coming under the reproof of Christ, who saith, that *such as do cannot believe?* But further, if we respect the cause that most frequently procures to men these *titles* of *honour*, there is not one of a thousand that shall be found to be, because of any Christian virtue; but rather for things to be discommended among *Christians:* as by the favour of *princes*, procured by flattering, and often by worse means. Yea, the most

1Sam.ii.30

* *Hierom*, in his epistle to *Celant*, admonisheth her, That she was to be preferred to none for her *nobility*, for the Christian religion admits not of respect of persons; neither are men to be esteemed because of their outward condition, but according to the disposition of the mind to be esteemed either noble or base; he that obeyeth not sin, is free; who is strong in virtue, is noble. *Let the Epistle of* James *be read.*

frequent, and accounted among men the most honourable, is *fighting*, or some great *martial exploit*, which can add nothing to a Christian's worth: since, sure it is, it were desirable there were no *fightings* among Christians at all; and in so far as there are, it shows they are not right Christians. And *James* tells us, that *fighting proceeds from the lusts*. So that it were fitter for Christians, by the *Sword of God's Spirit*, to fight against their lusts, than by the prevalency of their lusts to destroy one another. Whatever honour any might have attained of old under the *Law* this way, we find under the *Gospel* Christians commended for *suffering*, not for *fighting;* neither did any of Christ's disciples, save one, offer outward violence by the sword, in cutting off *Malcus's* ear; for which he received no title of honour, but a just reproof. Finally, if we look either to the *nature* of this *honour*, the *cause* of it, the *ways* it is conveyed, the *terms* in which it is delivered, it cannot be used by such as desire to be *Christians* in good earnest.

§. IV. Now besides these general *titles* of *honour*, what gross abuses are crept in among such as are called *Christians* in the use of *compliments*, wherein not servants to masters, or others, with respect to any such kind of relations, do say and write to one another at every turn, *Your humble servant*, *Your most obedient servant*, *&c.* Such wicked customs have, to the great prejudice of souls, accustomed Christians to lie; and to use lying is now come to be accounted civility. O horrid apostacy! for it is notoriously known, that the use of these *compliments* imports not any design of service, neither are any such fools to think so; for if we should put them to it that say so, they would not doubt to think we abused them; and would let us know they gave us words in course, and no more. It is strange, that such as pretend to *scripture* as their rule, should not be ashamed to use such things; since *Elihu*, that

had not the scriptures, could by the *Light within him*, (which these men think insufficient,) say, *Job* xxxii. 21, 22. *Let me not accept any man's person, neither let me give flattering titles unto men. For I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my Maker would soon take me away.* A certain ancient devout man in the primitive time, subscribed himself to a bishop, *Your humble servant;* wherein I doubt not but he was more real than our usual *complimenters;* and yet he was sharply reproved for it.*

But they usually object, to defend themselves, *That* Luke *saith*, *Most Excellent* Theophilus; *and* Paul, *Most Noble* Festus.

I Answer; Since *Luke* wrote that by the dictates of the *Infallible Spirit of God*, I think it will not be doubted but *Theophilus* did deserve it, as being really endued with that virtue: in which case we shall not condemn those that do it by the same rule. But it is not proved that *Luke* gave *Theophilus* this title, as that which was inherent to him, either by his Father, or by any patent *Theophilus* had obtained from any of the princes of the earth; or that he would have given it him, in case he had not been truly *excellent:* and without this be proved (which never can) there can nothing hence be deduced against us. The like may be said of that of *Paul* to *Festus*, whom he would not have called such, if he had not been truly *noble;* as indeed he was, in that he suffered him to be heard in his own cause, and would not give way to the fury of the *Jews* against him; it was not because of any outward title bestowed upon *Festus*, that he so called him, else he

Concerning the title Paul gave to Festus.

* This history is reported by *Casaubonus*, in his book of *Manners* and *Customs*, p. 160. In this last age he is esteemed an uncivil man, who will not either to his inferior or equal subscribe himself *Servant*. But *Sulpitius Severus* was heretofore sharply reproved by *Paulinus*, bishop of *Nola*, because in his espistle he had subscribed himself his *Servant*, saying, *Beware thou subscribe not thyself* his Servant, *who is* thy Brother; *for flattery is sinful, not a testimony of humility to give those honours to men, which are only due to the One Lord, Master, and GOD.*

would have given the same appellation to his predecessor *Felix*, who had the same office; but being a covetous man, we find he gives him no such *style*.

The singular number to one person used in the Latin.

§. V. It will not be unfit in this place to say something concerning the using of the *singular number* to one person; of this there is no controversy in the *Latin*. For when we speak to one, we always use the *pronoun* [TU,] and he that would do otherwise, would break the rules of *grammar*. For what boy, learning his rudiments, is ignorant that it is incongruous to say [*vos amas, vos legis*,] that is [*you lovest, you readest*,] speaking to one? But the pride of man, that hath corrupted many things, refuses also to use this *simplicity* of speaking in the vulgar languages. For being puffed up with a vain opinion of themselves, as if the *singular number* were not sufficient for them, they will have others to speak to them in the *plural*. Hence *Luther*, in his *plays*, reproves and mocks this manner of speaking, saying, *Magister, vos es iratus:* which corruption *Erasmus* sufficiently refutes in his book of *writing epistles:* concerning which likewise *James Howel*, in his epistle to the *nobility* of *England*, before the *French* and *English Dictionary*, takes notice, *That both in* France, *and in other nations, the word* [THOU] *was used in speaking to one; but by succession of time, when the* Roman *commonwealth grew into an empire, the courtiers began to magnify the emperor, (as being furnished with power to confer dignities and offices,) using the word* [You,] *yea, and deifying him with more remarkable titles; concerning which matter, we read in the epistles of* Symmachus *to the emperors* Theodosius *and* Valentinianus, *where he useth these forms of speaking*, Vestra Æternitas, *Your Eternity;* Vestrum Numen, *Your Godhead;* Vestra Serenitas, *Your Serenity;* Vestra Clementia, *Your Clemency. So that the word* [You] *in the plural number, together with the other titles and compellations of honour, seem*

How the word You came to be used to a single person.

to have taken their rise from monarchical government; *which afterwards, by degrees, came to be derived to private persons.*

The same is witnessed by *John Maresius*, of the *French academy*, in the preface of his *Clovis: Let none wonder*, saith he, *that the word* [Thou] *is used in this work to* Princes *and* Princesses; *for we use the same to God: and of old the same was used to* Alexanders, Cæsars, Queens, *and* Empresses. *The use of the word* [You,] *when one person is spoken to, was only introduced by the base flatteries of men of latter ages, to whom it seemed good to use the plural number to one person, that he may imagine himself alone to be equal to many others in dignity and worth; from whence at last it came to persons of lower quality.*

To the same purpose speaketh also *M. Godeau*, in his preface to the New Testament translation: *I had rather*, saith he, *faithfully keep to the express words of* Paul, *than exactly follow the polished style of our tongue; therefore I always use that form of calling God in the* singular number, *not in the* plural; *and therefore I say rather* [Thou] *than* [You.] *I confess indeed, that the civility and custom of this world requires him to be honoured after that manner; but it is likewise on the contrary true, that the original tongue of the New Testament hath nothing common with such manners and civility; so that not one of these many old versions we have doth observe it. Let not men believe, that we give not respect enough to God, in that we call him by the word* [Thou,] *which is nevertheless far otherwise; for I seem to myself (may be by the effect of custom) more to honour his Divine Majesty, in calling him after this manner, than if I should call him after the manner of men, who are so delicate in their forms of speech.*

The word Thou, a greater honour to One than You.

See how clearly and evidently these men witness, that this form of speaking, and these profane titles, derive their origin from the base flattery of these last ages, and from the delicate

haughtiness of *worldly men*, who have invented these *novelties*, that thereby they might honour one another, under I know not what pretence of *civility* and *respect*. From whence many of the present *Christians* (so accounted) are become so perverse, in commending most wicked men, and wicked customs, that the *simplicity* of the *Gospel* is wholly lost; so that the giving of men and things their own names is not only worn out of custom, but the doing thereof is accounted absurd and rude by such kind of *delicate parasites*, who desire to ascribe to this flattery, and abuse the name of *civility*. Moreover, that this way of speaking proceeds from a high and proud mind, hence appears; because that men commonly use the *singular number* to *beggars*, and to their *servants*; yea, and in their *prayers to God*. Thus the *superior* will speak to his *inferior*, who yet will not bear that the *inferior* so speak to him, as judging it a kind of reproach unto him. So hath the pride of men placed *God* and the *beggar* in the same *category*. I think I need not use arguments to prove to such as know congruous language, that we ought to use the *singular number* speaking to one; which is the common dialect of the whole scripture, as also the most interpreters do translate it. Seeing therefore it is manifest to us, that this form of speaking to men in the *plural number* doth proceed from *pride*, as well as that it is in itself a *lie*, we found a necessity upon us to testify against this corruption, by using the *singular* equally unto *all*. And although no reason can be given why we should be persecuted upon this account, especially by *Christians*, who profess to follow the rule of scripture, whose dialect this is; yet it would perhaps seem incredible if I should relate how much we have suffered for this thing, and how these proud ones have *fumed*, *fretted*, and *gnashed* their *teeth*, frequently *beating* and *striking* us, when we

Scripture dialect the plain language.

have spoken to them thus in the *singular number:* whereby we are the more confirmed in our judgment, as seeing that this *testimony of truth*, which God hath given us to bear in all things, doth so vex the serpentine nature in the *children of darkness.*

§. VI. Secondly, Next unto this of *titles*, the other part of *honour* used among *Christians* is the *kneeling*, *bowing*, and *uncovering of the head* to one another. I know nothing our adversaries have to plead for them in this matter, save some few instances of the *Old Testament*, and the *custom* of the country. Bowing to men, &c.

The first are, such as *Abraham's bowing himself to the children of* Heth, *and* Lot *to the two angels*, *&c.*

But the practice of these *patriarchs*, related as matter of fact, are not to be a rule to *Christians* now; neither are we to imitate them in every practice, which has not a particular reproof added to it: for we find not *Abraham* reproved for taking *Hagar*, *&c.* And indeed to say all things were lawful for us which they practised, would produce great inconveniencies obvious enough to all. And as to the *customs of the nations*, it is a very ill argument for a Christian's practice: we should have a better rule to walk by than the *custom* of the *Gentiles;* the apostles desire us not to be *conformed to this world*, *&c.* We see how little they have to say for themselves in this matter. Let it be observed then, whether our reasons for laying aside these things be not considerable and weighty enough to uphold us in so doing. The custom of the nations no rule to Christians. Rom.xii.2.

First, We say, *That God, who is the Creator of man, and he to whom he oweth the dedication both of soul and body, is over all to be worshipped and adored, and that not only by the spirit, but also with the prostration of the body.* Now *kneeling*, *bowing*, and *uncovering of the head*, is the alone outward signification of our *adoration* towards *God, and therefore* Bowing is adoring & is only due to God.

it is not lawful to give it unto man. He that kneeleth, or prostrates himself to man, what doth he more to God? He that boweth, and uncovereth his head to the *creature*, what hath he reserved to the *Creator?* Now the apostle shows us, that the *uncovering of the head* is that which God requires of us in our worshipping of him, 1 *Cor.* xi. 14. But if we make our address to men in the same manner, where lieth the difference? Not in the outward *signification*, but merely in the *intention;* which opens a door for the *Popish veneration* of *images*, which hereby is necessarily excluded.

Secondly, *Men being alike by creation*, (though their being stated under their several relations requires from them mutual services according to those respective relations,) *owe not worship one to another, but all equally are to return it to God: because it is to him, and his name alone, that every knee must bow, and before whose throne the four and twenty elders prostrate themselves.* Therefore for men to take this one from another, is to rob God of his glory: since all the duties of relation may be performed one to another without these kind of bowings, which therefore are no essential part of our duty to man, but to God. All men, by an inward instinct, in all nations have been led to prostrate and bow themselves to God. And it is plain that this bowing to men took place from a *slavish fear* possessing some, which led them to set up others as gods; when also an ambitious proud spirit got up in those others, to usurp the place of God over their brethren.

Thirdly, *We see that* Peter *refused it from* Cornelius, *saying, He was a man.* Are then the *popes* more, or more excellent than *Peter*, who suffer men daily to fall down at their feet, and kiss them? This reproof of *Peter* to *Cornelius* doth abundantly show, that such manners were not to be admitted among Christians. Yea, we see, that the *angel*

Peter and the angel refused bowing.

twice refused this kind of *bowing* from *John*, Rev. xix. 10. and xxii. 9. for this reason, *Because I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren;* abundantly intimating that it is *not lawful* for *fellow-servants* thus to prostrate themselves one to another: and in this respect all men are *fellow-servants.*

Object. If it be said, John *intended here a religious worship, and not a civil:*

Answ. I answer; This is to say, not to prove: neither can we suppose *John*, at that time of the day, so ill-instructed as not to know it was unlawful to worship *angels;* only it should seem, because of those great and mysterious things revealed to him by that *angel*, he was willing to signify some more than ordinary testimony of respect, for which he was reproved. These things being thus considered, it is remitted to the judgment of such as are desirous to be found *Christians* indeed, whether we are worthy of blame for waving it to men. Let those then that will blame us consider whether they might not as well accuse *Mordecai* of incivility, who was no less singular than we in this matter. And forasmuch as they accuse us herein of *rudeness* and *pride*, though the testimony of our consciences in the sight of God be a sufficient guard against such calumnies, yet there are of us known to be men of such education, as forbear not these things for want of that they call *good breeding;* and we should be very void of reason, to purchase that *pride* at so dear a rate, as many have done the exercise of their conscience in this matter; many of us having been *sorely beaten* and *buffeted*, yea, and several months *imprisoned*, for no other reason but because we could not so satisfy the *proud unreasonable humours of proud men*, as to *uncover our heads*, and *bow our bodies.* Nor doth our innocent practice, in standing still, though upright, not putting off our *hats*, any more than our *shoes*, the one being the covering of our *heads*,

To forbear bowing to man is no incivility. nor pride, nor rudeness.

as well as the other of our *feet*, show so much rudeness, as their beating and knocking us, &c. because we cannot *bow* to them, contrary to our consciences: which certainly shows less *meekness* and *humility* upon their part, than it doth of *rudeness* or *pride* upon ours. Now suppose it were our weakness, and we really under a mistake in this thing, since it is not alleged to be the breach of any *Christian precept*, are we not to be indulged, as the apostle commanded should be done to such as scrupled to *eat flesh?* And do not persecuting and reviling us upon this account show them to be more like unto proud *Haman*, than the disciples or followers of the *meek, self-denying Jesus?* And this I can say boldly, in the sight of God, from my own experience, and that of many thousands more, that however small or foolish this may seem, yet we behoved to choose death rather than do it, and that for conscience' sake: and that in its being so contrary to our natural spirits, there are many of us, to whom the forsaking of these bowings and ceremonies was as death itself; which we could never have left, if we could have enjoyed our peace with God in the use of them. *Though it be far from us to judge all those to whom God hath not shown the evil of them, under the like hazard;* yet nevertheless we doubt not but to such as would prove *faithful witnesses* to *Christ's divine light* in their *consciences*, God will also show the evil of these things.

Apparel in its vanity and superfluity disallowed.

§. VII. The *third* thing to be treated of, is the *vanity and superfluity of apparel.* In which, *first*, two things are to be considered, the *condition of the person*, and the *country he lives in.* We shall not say that all persons are to be clothed alike, because it will perhaps neither suit their bodies nor their estates. And if a man be clothed *soberly*, and without *superfluity*, though they may be *finer* than that which his servant is clothed with, we shall

not blame him for it: the abstaining from *superfluities*, which his condition and education have accustomed him to, may be in him a greater act of mortification than the abstaining from *finer clothes* in the servant, who never was accustomed to them. As to the *country*, what it naturally produces may be no vanity to the inhabitants to use, or what is commonly imparted to them by way of exchange, seeing it is without doubt that the creation is for the use of man. So where *silk* abounds, it may be worn as well as *wool;* and were we in those countries, or near unto them, where *gold* or *silver* were as common as *iron* or *brass*, the one might be used as well as the other. The iniquity lies then here, First, When from a lust of vanity, and a desire to adorn themselves, men and women, not content with what their condition can bear, or their country easily affords, do stretch to have things, that from their rarity, and the price that is put upon them, seem to be precious, and so feed their lust the more; and this all sober men of all sorts will readily grant to be evil.

Secondly, When men are not content to make a true use of the creation, whether the things be *fine* or *coarse*, and do not satisfy themselves with what need and conveniency call for, but add thereunto things merely *superfluous*, such as is the use of *ribbons* and *lace*, and much more of that kind of stuff, as *painting the face, and plaiting the hair*, which are the fruits of the *fallen, lustful*, and *corrupt nature*, and not of the *new creation*, as all will acknowledge. And though *sober men* among all sorts will say, that it were better these things were not, yet will they not reckon them unlawful, and therefore do admit the use of them among their church-members: but we do account them altogether unlawful, and unsuitable to *Christians*, and that for these reasons:

The proper use of clothes.

First, *The use of clothes came originally from the fall.* If man had not fallen, it appears he would not have needed them; but this miserable state made them necessary in two respects: 1. *To cover his nakedness;* 2. *To keep him from the cold;* which are both the proper and principal use of them. Now for man to delight himself in that which is the fruit of his iniquity, and the consequence of his sin, can be no ways lawful for him: so to extend things beyond their real use, or to superadd things wholly superfluous, is a manifest abuse of the *creation*, and therefore not lawful to Christians.

Secondly, Those that will needs so adorn themselves in the use of their clothes, as to beset them with things having no real use or necessity, but merely for ornament's sake, do openly declare, that the end of it is either to please their *lusts*, (for which end these things are chiefly invented and contrived,) or otherwise to gratify a *vain, proud, and ostentatious mind;* and it is obvious these are their general ends in so doing. Yea, we see how easily men are puffed up with their garments, and how proud and vain they are, when adorned to their mind. Now how far these things are below a true *Christian*, and how unsuitable, needs very little proof. Hereby those who love to be *gaudy* and *superfluous* in their clothes, show they concern themselves little with *mortification* and *self-denial*, and that they study to beautify their bodies more than their souls; which proves they think little upon *mortality*, and so certainly are more *nominal* than *real* Christians.

Not to please their lusts.

Contrary to scripture.

Thirdly, The scripture severely reproves such practices, both commending and commanding the contrary; as *Isa.* iii. how severely doth the prophet reprove the daughters of *Israel* for their *tinkling ornaments*, their *cauls*, and their *round tires*, their *chains* and *bracelets*, *&c.* and yet is it not strange to see Christians allow themselves

in these things, from whom a more strict and exemplary conversation is required? Christ desires us not to be *anxious* about our clothing, *Mat.* vi. 25. and to show the vanity of such as glory in the splendour of their clothing, tells them, *That even* Solomon, *in all his glory, was not to be compared to the lily of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven.* But surely they make small reckoning of Christ's words and doctrine that are so curious in their clothing, and so industrious to deck themselves, and so earnest to justify it, and so enraged when they are reproved for it. The apostle *Paul* is very positive in this respect, 1 *Tim.* ii. 9, 10. *I will therefore in like manner also that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, and not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works.* To the same purpose saith *Peter*, 1 Pet. iii. 3, 4. *Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but* let it be *the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, &c.* Here both the apostles do very positively and expressly assert two things. *First*, That the *adorning* of *Christian women* (of whom it is particularly spoken, I judge, because this sex is most naturally inclined to that vanity, and that it seems that *Christian men* in those days deserved not in this respect so much to be reproved) ought not to be outward, nor consist in the apparel. *Secondly*, That they ought not to use the *plaiting of the hair*, or *ornaments, &c.* which was at that time the custom of the nations. But is it not strange, that such as make the scripture their rule, and pretend they are guided by it, should not only be so generally in the use of these things, which the scripture so plainly condemns, but also should attempt to justify themselves in so doing?

Plaiting the hair, &c.

For the apostles not only commend the forbearance of these things, as an attainment commendable in Christians, but condemn the use of them as unlawful; and yet may it not seem more strange, that in contradiction to the apostles' doctrine, as if they had resolved to slight their testimony, they should condemn those that out of conscience apply themselves seriously to follow it, as if in so doing they were *singular*, *proud*, or *superstitious?* This certainly betokens a sad *apostacy* in those that will be accounted Christians, that they are so offended with those who love to follow Christ and his apostles, in denying of, and departing from, the lying vanities of this perishing world; and so doth much evidence their affinity with those who *hate to be reproved*, and *neither will enter themselves, nor suffer those that would.*

Sports, &c. inconsistent with the gospel.

§. VIII. Fourthly, Let us consider the use of *games*, *sports*, *comedies*, and other such things, commonly and indifferently used by all the several sorts of Christians, under the notion of *divertisement* and *recreation*, and see whether these things can consist with the *seriousness*, *gravity*, and *Godly fear*, which the gospel calls for. Let us but view and look over the notions of them that call themselves Christians, whether *Papists* or *Protestants*, and see if generally there be any difference, save in mere name and profession, from the *heathen?* Doth not the same *folly*, the same *vanity*, the same *abuse* of *precious* and *irrevocable time* abound? The same *gaming*, *sporting*, *playing*, and from thence *quarrelling*, *fighting*, *swearing*, *ranting*, *revelling?* Now how can these things be remedied, so long as the *preachers* and *professors*, and those who are the *leaders* of the people, do allow these things, and account them not inconsistent with the profession of Christianity? And it is strange to see that these things are tolerated every where; the inquisition lays no hold on them, neither at *Rome*, nor

in *Spain*, where in their *masquerades* all manner of *obscenity*, *folly*, yea, and *Atheism* is generally practised in the face of the world, to the great scandal of the *Christian name:* but if any man reprove them in these things, and forsake their superstitions, and come seriously to *serve God*, and *worship him in the Spirit*, he becomes their prey, and is immediately exposed to cruel sufferings. Doth this bear any relation to Christianity? Do these things look any thing like the churches of the primitive Christians? Surely not at all. I shall first cite some few *scripture testimonies*, being very positive precepts to Christians, and then see whether such as obey them can admit of these forementioned things. The apostle commands us, That *whether we eat or drink, or whatever we do, we do it all to the glory of God.* But I judge none will be so impudent as to affirm, That in the use of these *sports* and *games* God is glorified: if any should so say, they would declare they neither knew God nor his glory. And experience abundantly proves, that in the practice of these things men mind nothing less than the *glory of God*, and nothing more than the satisfaction of their own *carnal lusts*, *wills*, and *appetites*. The apostle desires us, 1 *Cor.* vii. 29. 31. *Because the time is short, that they that buy should be as though they possessed not; and they that use this world, as not abusing it, &c.* But how can they be found in the obedience of this precept that plead for the use of these *games* and *sports*, who, it seems, think the time so long, that they cannot find occasion enough to *employ* it, neither in taking care for their souls, nor yet in the necessary care for their bodies; but invent these *games* and *sports* to pass it away, as if they wanted other work to serve God in, or be useful to the creation? The apostle *Peter* desires us, *To pass the time of our sojourning here in fear*, 1 Pet. i. 17. But will any say, That such as use *dancing* and *comedies*, *carding* and

By sports & games God is not glorified.

dicing, do so much as mind this precept in the use of these things? Where there is nothing to be seen but *lightness* and *vanity*, *wantonness* and *obscenity*, contrived to *draw* men from *fear* or being *serious*, and therefore no doubt calculated for the service of the devil. There is no duty more frequently commanded, nor more incumbent upon Christians, than the *fear of the Lord*, to *stand in awe before him*, to *walk as in his presence;* but if such as use these games and sports will speak from their consciences, they can, I doubt not, experimentally declare, that this *fear* is forgotten in their gaming: and if God by his *light* secretly touch them, or mind them of the *vanity* of their way, they strive to shut it out, and use their gaming as an engine to put away from them that troublesome guest; and thus *make merry over the Just One, whom they have slain and crucified in themselves.* But further, if Christ's reasoning be to be heeded, who saith, *Mat.* xii. 35, 36. That *the good man, out of the good treasure of the heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things*, and that *of every idle word* we *shall give an account in the day of judgment*, it may be easily gathered from what *treasure* these inventions come; and it may be easily proved, that it is from the *evil*, and not the *good.* How many *idle words* do they necessarily produce? Yea, what are *comedies* but a *studied complex of idle and lying words?* Let men that believe their *souls* are *immortal*, and that there will be a *day of judgment*, in which these words of Christ will be accomplished, answer me, how all these will make account in that *great* and *terrible day*, of all these *idle words* that are necessarily made use of about *dancing*, *gaming*, *carding*, and *comedies acting?* And yet how is it that by Christians not condemning these things, but allowing of them, many that are accounted *Christians* take up their whole time in

Comedies a studied complex of idle lying words.

them, yea, make it their trade and employment? Such as the *dancing-masters* and *comedians*, &c. whose hellish conversations do sufficiently declare what master they serve, and to what end these things contribute. And it cannot be denied, as being obviously manifest by experience, that such as are masters of these occupations, and are most delighted in them, if they be not open *Atheists* and *profligates*, are such at best as make religion or the care of their souls their least business. Now if these things were discountenanced by *Christians*, as inconsistent with their profession, it would remove these things; for these wretches would be necessitated then to betake themselves to some honest livelihood, if they were not fed and upholden by these. And as hereby a great scandal and stumbling-block would be removed from off the *Christian name*, so also would that in part be taken out of the way which provokes the Lord to withhold his *blessing*, and by occasion of which things the minds of many remain chained in *darkness*, and drowned in *lust*, *sensuality*, and *worldly pleasures*, without any sense of God's fear, or their own soul's salvation. Many of those called *fathers of the church*, and other serious persons, have signified their regret for these things, and their desires they might be remedied; of whom many citations might be alleged, which for brevity's sake I have omitted.

§. IX. But they object, *That men's spirits could not subsist, if they were always intent upon serious and spiritual matters, and that therefore there is need of some divertisement to recreate the mind a little, whereby it being refreshed, is able with greater vigour to apply itself to these things.* Object

I answer; Though all this were granted, it would no ways militate against us, neither plead the use of these things, which we would have wholly laid aside. For that men should be always in the same Answ.

intentiveness of mind, we do not plead, knowing how impossible it is, so long as we are clothed with this tabernacle of clay. But this will not allow us at any time so to recede from the remembrance of God, and of our soul's chief concern, as not still to retain a certain sense of his *fear;* which cannot be so much as rationally supposed to be in the use of these things which we condemn. Now the necessary occasions in which all are involved, in order to the care and sustentation of the outward man, are a relaxation of the mind from the more serious duties; and those are performed in the blessing, as the mind is so leavened with the love of God, and the sense of his presence, that even in doing these things the soul carrieth with it that *divine influence* and *spiritual habit*, whereby though these acts, as of *eating*, *drinking*, *sleeping*, *working*, be upon the matter one with what the wicked do, yet they are done in another Spirit; and in doing of them we please the Lord, serve him, and answer our end in the creation, and so feel and are sensible of his *blessing:* whereas the wicked and profane, being not come to this place, are in whatsoever they do *cursed*, and their *ploughing* as well as *praying* is *sin*. Now if any will plead, that for relaxation of mind, there may be a liberty allowed beyond these things, which are of absolute need to the sustenance of the outward man, I shall not much contend against it; provided these things be not such as are wholly superfluous, or in their proper nature and tendency lead the mind into *lust*, *vanity*, and *wantonness*, as being chiefly contrived and framed for that end, or generally experienced to produce these effects, or being the common engines of such as are so minded to feed one another therein, and to propagate their wickedness, to the impoisoning of others: seeing there are other innocent divertisements which may sufficiently serve for relaxation of the mind, such as for *friends to visit one another;*

The fear of God the best recreation in the world.

to hear or read history; to speak soberly of the present or past transactions; to follow after gardening; to use geometrical and mathematical experiments, and such other things of this nature. In all which things we are not so to forget God, *in whom we both live, and are moved*, Acts xvii. 28. as not to have always some *secret reserve* to him, and sense of his fear and presence, which also frequently exerts itself in the midst of these things by some short aspiration and breathings. And that this may neither seem *strange* nor *troublesome*, I shall clear it by one manifest instance, answerable to the experience of all men. It will not be denied but that men ought to be more in the love of God than of any other thing; for we ought to *love God above all things*. Now it is plain, that men that are taken with love, whether it be of women, or of any other thing, if it hath taken a deep place in the heart, and possess the mind, it will be hard for the man so in love to drive out of his mind the person or thing so loved; yea, in his eating, drinking, and sleeping, his mind will always have a tendency that way; and in business or recreations, however intent he be in it, there will but a very short time be permitted to pass, but the mind will let some ejaculation forth towards its beloved. And albeit such a one must be conversant in those things that the care of this body and such like things call for; yet will he avoid as death itself to do those things that may offend the party so beloved, or cross his design in obtaining the thing so earnestly desired: though there may be some small use in them, the great design, which is chiefly in his eye, will so balance him, that he will easily look over and dispense with such petty necessities, rather than endanger the loss of the greater by them. Now that men ought to be thus *in love with God*, and the *life to come*, none will deny; and the thing is apparent from these scriptures, *Mat.* vi. 20. *But lay up for*

Lawful divertisements.

The love towards its beloved shuns its offence.

yourselves treasures in heaven. Col. iii. 2. *Set your affection on things above, &c.* And that this hath been the experience and attainment of some, the scripture also declares, *Psalm* lxiii. 1. 8. 2 *Cor.* v. 4.

Sports and plays draw men from the fear of God.

And again, That these *games, sports, plays, dancing, comedies, &c.* do naturally tend to draw men from *God's fear*, to make them forget *heaven, death*, and *judgment*, to foster *lust, vanity*, and *wantonness*, and therefore are most *loved*, as well as *used*, by such kind of persons, experience abundantly shows, and the most serious and conscientious among all will scarcely deny; which if it be so, the application is easy.

§. X. Fifthly, The use of *swearing* is to be considered, which is so frequently practised almost among all Christians; not only *profane oaths* among the *profane*, in their common discourses, whereby the *Most HOLY NAME of GOD* is in a horrible manner daily blasphemed; but also *solemn oaths*, with those that have some show of *piety*, whereof the most part do defend *swearing* before the magistrate with so great zeal, that not only they are ready themselves to do it upon every occasion, but also have stirred up the magistrates to persecute those, who, out of obedience to *Christ*, their Lord and master, judge it unlawful to *swear;* upon which account not a few have suffered imprisonment, and the spoiling of their goods.

All swearing is forbidden—

But considering these clear words of our Saviour, *Mat.* v. 33, 34. *Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths. But I say unto you,* SWEAR NOT AT ALL, *neither by heaven, &c. But let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.* As also the words of the apostle *James*, v. 12. *But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay,*

nay, lest ye fall into condemnation. I say, considering these clear words, it is admirable how any one that professeth the *name of Christ* can pronounce any *oath* with a quiet conscience, far less to persecute other Christians, that dare not *swear*, because of their master *Christ's* authority. For did any one purpose seriously, and in the most rigid manner, to forbid any thing comprehended under any general, can they use a more full and general prohibition, and that without any exception? I think not. For Christ, *First*, proposeth it to us negatively, *Swear not at all, neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by* Jerusalem, *nor by thy head, &c.* And again, *Swear not by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath.* *Secondly*, he presseth it affirmatively, *But let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil.* And saith *James*, *Lest ye fall into condemnation.*

Without exception.

Which words both all and every one of them do make such a full prohibition, and so free of all exception, that it is strange how men that boast the scripture is the *rule* of their *faith* and *life*, can counterfeit any exception! Certainly *reason* ought to teach every one, that it is not lawful to make void a general prohibition coming from God by such opposition, unless the exception be as clearly and evidently expressed as the prohibition: neither is it enough to endeavour to confirm it by consequences and probabilities, which are obscure and uncertain, and not sufficient to bring quiet to the *conscience*. For if they say, that there is therefore an exception and limitation in the words, because there are found exceptions in the other general prohibition of this *fifth chapter*, as in the forbidding of *divorcement*, where Christ saith, *It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement: but I say*

unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; if, I say, they plead this, they not only labour in vain, but also fight against themselves, because they can produce no exception of this general command of *not swearing*, expressed by God to any under the *new covenant*, after *Christ* gave this prohibition so clear as that which is made in the prohibition itself. Moreover, if *Christ* would have excepted *oaths* made before magistrates, certainly he had then expressed, adding, *except in judgment, before the magistrate*, or the like; as he did in that of *divorcement* by these words, *saving for the cause of fornication:* which being so, it is not lawful for us to *except* or *distinguish*, or, which is all one, *make void* this general prohibition of Christ; it would be far less agreeable to *Christian holiness* to bring upon our heads the crimes of so many *oaths*, which by reason of this corruption and exception are so frequent among Christians.

Also oaths before a magistrate.

The concurrence of the ancient fathers therein.

Neither is it to be omitted that without doubt the most *learned doctors* of each sect know, that these fore-mentioned words were understood by the *ancient fathers* of the *first three hundred years* after Christ to be a prohibition of all sorts of *oaths*. It is not then without reason that we wonder that the *Popish doctors* and *priests* bind themselves by an *oath* to interpret the *holy scriptures* according to the universal exposition of the *holy fathers;* who nevertheless understood those controverted texts quite contrary to what these *modern doctors* do. And from thence also do clearly appear the vanity and foolish certainty (so to speak) of *Popish traditions;* for if by the writings of the *fathers*, so called, the faith of the church of those ages may be demonstrated, it is clear they have departed from the faith of the church of the *first three ages* in the point of *swearing*. Moreover, because not only *Papists*

but also *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, and some others, do restrict the words of *Christ* and *James*, I think it needful to make manifest the vain foundation upon which that presumption in this matter is built.

§. XI. First, They object, *That Christ only forbids these oaths that are made by creatures, and things created;* and they prove it thence, because he numbers some of these things. Object.

Secondly, *All rash and vain oaths in familiar discourses; because he saith, Let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay.*

To which I answer, First, That the *law* did forbid all *oaths* made by the creatures, as also all vain and rash *oaths* in our common discourses, commanding, That men should only *swear* by the name of God, and that neither falsely nor rashly; for that is to take his name in vain. Ans. 1.

Secondly, It is most evident that Christ forbids somewhat that was permitted under the *law*, to wit, to *swear by the name of God*, because it was not lawful for any man to *swear* but by God himself. And because he saith, *Neither by heaven, because it is the throne of God;* therefore he excludes all other *oaths*, even those which are made by God; for he saith, chap. xxiii. 22. *He that shall swear by heaven, sweareth by the throne of God, and by him that sitteth thereon:* which is also to be understood of the rest. Ans. 2. To swear by God himself forbidden by Christ.

Lastly, That he might put the matter beyond all controversy, he adds, *Neither by any other oath:* therefore seeing to *swear* before the magistrate by God is an *oath*, it is here without doubt forbidden. Ans. 3.

Secondly, They object, *That by these words oaths by God's name cannot be forbidden, because the Heavenly Father hath commanded them; for the Father and the Son are one, which could not be, if the Son had forbid that which the Father commanded.* Object.

Answ. I answer, They are indeed one, and cannot contradict one another: nevertheless the Father gave many things to the Jews for a time, because of their infirmity under the *old covenant*, which had only a shadow of good things to come, not the very substance of things, until Christ should come, who was the substance, and by whose coming all these things vanished, to wit, *sabbaths*, *circumcision*, the *paschal lamb:* men used then sacrifices, who lived in controversies with God, and one with another, which all are abrogated in the coming of the Son, who is the Substance, Eternal Word, and Essential Oath and Amen, in whom the *promises of God are Yea and Amen:* who came that men might be redeemed out of strife, and might make an end of controversy.

Oaths under the old covenant.

Object. Thirdly, They object, *But all oaths are not ceremonies, nor any part of the ceremonial law.*

Answ. I answer, Except it be shown to be an eternal, immutable, and moral precept, it withstands not; neither are they of so old an origin as *tithes*, and the offering of the *first fruits* of the ground, which by *Abel* and *Cain* were offered long before the *ceremonial law*, or the use of *oaths;* which, whatever may be alleged against it, were no doubt *ceremonious*, and therefore no doubt unlawful now to be practised.

Tithes, &c. unlawful now.

Object. Fourthly, They object, *That to swear by the name of God is a moral precept of continual duration, because it is marked with his essential and moral worship*, Deut. vi. 13. and x. 20. *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him alone: thou shalt cleave to him, and swear by his name.*

Answ. I answer, This proves not that it is a moral and eternal precept; for *Moses* adds that to all the precepts and ceremonies in several places; as *Deut.* x. 12, 13. saying, *And now*, Israel, *what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and*

to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul; to keep the commandments of the Lord, and his statutes, which I command thee this day? And *chap.* xiv. 23. the *fear of the Lord* is mentioned together with the *tithes.* And so also *Levit.* xix. 2, 3, 6. the *sabbaths* and regard to *parents* are mentioned with *swearing.*

Fifthly, They object, *That solemn oaths, which God commanded, cannot be here forbidden by Christ; for he saith, that they come from evil: but these did not come from evil; for God never commanded any thing that was evil, or came from evil.* Object.

I answer, There are things which are *good* because *commanded*, and *evil* because *forbidden;* other things are *commanded* because *good*, and *forbidden* because *evil.* As *circumcision* and *oaths*, which were *good*, when and because they were *commanded*, and in no other respect; and again, when and because prohibited under the gospel, they are *evil.* Answ. Oaths are evil, because forbidden.

And in all these *Jewish constitutions*, however ceremonial, there was something of good, to wit, in their season, as prefiguring some good: as by *circumcision*, the *purifications*, and other things, the holiness of God was typified, and that the *Israelites* ought to be *holy, as their God was holy.* In the like manner *oaths*, under the *shadows* and *ceremonies*, signified the *verity of God*, his faithfulness and certainty; and therefore that we ought in all things to speak and witness the truth. But the *witness of truth* was before all *oaths*, and remains when all *oaths* are abolished; and this is the morality of all *oaths;* and so long as men abide therein, there is no necessity nor place for *oaths*, as *Polybius* witnessed, who said, *The use of* oaths *in judgment was rare among the ancients; but by the growing of* perfidiousness, *so grew also the use of* oaths. To which agreeth *Grotius*, saying, *An oath is only to be used as a medicine, in case of necessity: a solemn* Truth was before all oaths.

Oaths supply presupposed defects of men's inconstancy.

oath is not used but to supply defect. The lightness of men, and their inconstancy, begot diffidence; for which swearing was sought out as a remedy. Basil the Great saith, That *Swearing is the effect of sin.* And *Ambrose*, That *oaths are only a condescendency for defect. Chrysostom* saith, That *an oath entered when evil grew, when men exercised their frauds, when all foundations were overturned: that oaths took their beginning from the want of truth.* These and the like are witnessed by many others with the fore-mentioned authors. But what need of testimonies, where the evidence of things speaks itself? For who will force another to *swear*, of whom he is certainly persuaded that he abhors to *lie* in his words? And again, as *Chrysostom* and others say, *For what end wilt thou force him to swear, whom thou believest not that he will speak the truth?*

§. XII. That then which was not from the *beginning*, which was of no use in the *beginning*, which had not its *beginning* first from the will of God, but from the work of the devil, occasioned from evil, to wit, from *unfaithfulness*, *lying*, *deceit;* and which was at first only invented by man, as a mutual remedy of this evil, in which they called upon the names of their *idols;* yea, that which, as *Hierom*, *Chrysostom*, and others testify, was given to the *Israelites* by God, as unto children, that they might abstain from the *idolatrous oaths* of the *heathens*, Jer. xii. 16. whatsoever is so, is far from being a moral and eternal precept. And *lastly*, whatsoever by its profanation and abuse is polluted with sin, such as are abundantly the *oaths* of these times, by so often *swearing* and *forswearing*, far differs from any necessary and perpetual duty of a Christian: but *oaths* are so; therefore, &c.

Sixthly, They object, *That God swore*, therefore *to swear is* good.

I answer with *Athanasius; Seeing it is certain it is proper in swearing to swear by another, thence it appears, that God, to speak properly, did never swear but* only *improperly: whence, speaking to men, he is said to swear, because those things which he speaks, because of the certainty and immutability of his will, are to be esteemed for oaths.* Compare *Psalm* cx. 4. where it is said, *The Lord did swear, and it did not repent him, &c.* And *I swore* (saith he) *by myself: and this is not an oath; for he did not swear by another, which is the property of an oath, but by himself. Therefore God swears not according to the manner of men, neither can we be induced from thence to swear. But let us so do and say, and show ourselves such by speaking and acting, that we need not an oath with those who hear us; and let our words of themselves have the testimony of truth: for so we shall plainly imitate God.* Answ. Athan. in pass. & cruc. Dom. God swears not by another but by himself.

Seventhly, They object, *Christ did swear, and we ought to imitate him.* Object.

I answer, That Christ did not swear; and albeit he had sworn, being yet under the law, this would no ways oblige us under the gospel; as neither *circumcision*, or the celebration of the *paschal lamb.* Concerning which *Hierom* saith, *All things agree not unto us, who are servants, that agreed unto our Lord, &c. The Lord swore as Lord, whom no man did forbid to swear; but unto us, that are servants, it is not lawful to swear, because we are forbidden by the law of our Lord. Yet, lest we should suffer scandal by his example, he hath not sworn, since he commanded us not to swear.* Answ. Hier. lib. Ep. part. 3. tract. 1. Ep. 2.

Eighthly, They object, *That* Paul *swore, and that often,* Rom. i. 9. Phil. i. 8. saying, *For God is my record.* 2 Cor. xi. 10. *As the truth of Christ is in me.* 2 Cor. i. 23. *I call God for a record upon my soul. I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not,* Rom. ix. 1. *Behold, before God I lie not,* Gal. i. 20. *and so re-* Object.

quires oaths of others. I obtest thee (saith he) *before God and our Lord Jesus Christ.* 1 Thess. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read to all the brethren. But* Paul *would not have done so, if all manner of oaths had been forbidden by Christ, whose apostle he was.*

Answ. To all which I answer, *First*, That the using of such forms of speaking is neither *swearing*, nor so esteemed by our adversaries. For when upon occasion, in matters of great moment, we have said, *We speak the truth in the fear of God, and before him, who is our witness, and the searcher of our hearts*, adding such kind of serious attestations, which we never refused in matters of consequence; nevertheless an *oath* hath moreover been required of us, with the ceremony of putting our hands upon the book, the kissing of it, the lifting up of the hand or fingers, together with this common form of imprecation, *So help me God;* or, *so truly let the Lord God Almighty help me. Secondly*, This contradicts the opinion of our adversaries, because that *Paul* was neither before a magistrate that was requiring an oath of him, nor did he himself administer the office of a magistrate, as offering an *oath* to any other. *Thirdly*, The question is not what *Paul* or *Peter* did, but what their and our Master taught to be done; and if *Paul* did *swear*, (which we believe not,) he had sinned against the command of Christ, even according to their own opinion, because he *swore* not before a *magistrate*, but in an *epistle* to his brethren.

The ceremonies of an oath.

Object. Ninthly, They object, *Isa.* lxv. 16. where, speaking of the evangelical times, he saith, *That he who blesseth himself in the earth, shall bless himself in the God of truth; and he that sweareth in the earth, shall swear by the God of truth; because the former troubles are forgotten, and because they are hid from mine eyes. For be-*

hold I create new heavens, and a new earth. Therefore in these times we ought to swear by the name of the Lord.

I answer, It is ordinary for the prophets to express the greatest duties of *evangelical times* in *mosaical* terms, as appears among others from *Jer.* xxxi. 38, 39, 40. *Ezek.* xxxvi. 25, and 40. and *Isa.* xlv. 23. *I have sworn by myself, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear.* Where the righteousness of the *new Jerusalem*, the purity of the *gospel*, with its *spiritual worship*, and the profession of the *name of Christ*, are expressed under forms of speaking used to the *old Jerusalem* under the washings of the law, under the names of ceremonies, the temple, services, sacrifices, oaths, &c. Yea, that which the prophet speaks here of *swearing*, the apostle *Paul* interprets expressly of *confessing*, saying, *Rom.* xiv. 11. *For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God:* which being rightly considered, none can be ignorant but these words which the prophet writes under the law, when the ceremonial oaths were in use, to wit, *Every tongue shall swear*, were by the apostle, being under the gospel, when those *oaths* became abolished, expressed by *Every tongue shall confess.* Answ. Swearing is expressed by confessing under the gospel.

Tenthly, They object, *But the apostle* Paul *approves oaths used among men, when he writes*, Heb. vi. 16. *For men verily swear by the greater, and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife. But there are as many contests, fallacies, and differences at this time as there ever were; therefore the necessity of oaths doth yet remain.* Object.

I answer; The apostle tells indeed in this place what men at that time did, who lived in controversies and incredulity; not what they ought to have done, nor what the saints did, who were redeemed from strife and incredulity and Answ.

had come to Christ, the Truth and Amen of God. Moreover, he only alludes to a certain custom usual among men, that he might express the firmness of the *divine promise*, in order to excite in the saints so much the more *confidence* in God promising to them; not that he might instigate them to *swear* against the law of God, or confirm them in that; no, not at all: for neither doth 1 *Cor.* ix. 24. teach Christians the vain races, whereby men oftentimes, even to the destruction of their bodies, are wearied to obtain a corruptible prize; so neither doth Christ, who is the *Prince of Peace*, teach his disciples to fight, albeit he takes notice, *Luke* xiv. 31. what it behoveth such kings to do who are accustomed to fight, as prudent warriors therein. *Secondly*, as to what pertains to *contests*, *perfidies*, and *diffidences* among men, which our adversaries affirm to have grown to such a height, that *swearing* is at present as necessary as ever, that we deny not at all: for we see, and daily experience teacheth us, that all manner of deceit and malice doth increase among worldly men and false Christians; but not among true Christians. But because men cannot trust one another, and therefore require *oaths* one of another, it will not therefore follow that true Christians ought to do so, whom Christ has brought to faithfulness and honesty, as well towards God as one towards another, and therefore has delivered them from *contests*, *perfidies*, and consequently from *oaths*.

Deceit among the false, not the true Christians.

Object. Eleventhly, They object, *We grant, that among true Christians there is not need of oaths; but by what means shall we infallibly know them? It will follow then that oaths are at present needful, and that it is lawful for Christians to swear; to wit, that such may be satisfied who will not acknowledge this and the other man to be a Christian.*

I answer, It is no ways lawful for a Christian to *swear*, whom Christ has called to his essential truth, which was before all *oaths*, forbidding him to *swear;* and on the contrary, commanding him to speak the truth in all things, to the honour of Christ who called him; that it may appear that the *words* of his disciples may be as truly believed as the *oaths* of all the worldly men. Neither is it lawful for them to be unfaithful in this, that they may please others, or that they may avoid their hurt: for thus the primitive Christians for some ages remained faithful, who being required to *swear*, did unanimously answer, *I am a Christian, I do not swear.* What shall I say of the *heathens*, some of whom arrived to that degree? For *Diodorus Siculus* relates, lib. 16. That *the giving of the Right-hand was, among the* Persians, *a sign of speaking the truth.* And the *Scythians*, as *Qu. Curtius* relates, said in their conferences with *Alexander* the Great, *Think not that the* Scythians *confirm their friendship by swearing; they swear by keeping their promises. Stobæus, Serm.* 3. relates, That *Solon* said, *A good man ought to be in that estimation that he need not an oath; because it is to be reputed a lessening of his honour if he be forced to swear. Pythagoras*, in his oration, among other things hath this maxim, as that which concerns the administration of the commonwealth: *Let no man call God to witness by an oath, no not in judgment; but let every man so accustom himself to speak, that he may become worthy to be trusted even without an oath. Basil* the Great commends *Clinias* a heathen, *That he had rather pay three talents, which are about* three thousand pounds, *than swear. Socrates*, as *Stobæus* relates, *Serm.* 14. had this sentence, *The duty of good men requires that they show to the world that their manners and actions are more firm than oaths:*

Answ.

Truth was before oaths.

Heathen testimonies against oaths

The same was the judgment of *Isocrates*. *Plato* also stood against *oaths* in his judgment *de Leg.* 12. *Quintilianus* takes notice, *That it was of old a kind of infamy, if any was desired to swear; but to require an oath of a nobleman, was like an examining him by the hangman.* The Emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* saith, in his description of a good man, *Such is his integrity, that he needs not an oath.* So also some *Jews* did witness, as *Grotius* relates out of *Maimonides*, *It is best for a man to abstain from all oaths.* The *Essenes*, as *Philo Judæus* relates, *did esteem their words more firm than oaths; and oaths were esteemed among them as needless things.* And *Philo* himself, speaking of the third commandment, explains his mind thus, *viz. It were better altogether not to swear, but to be accustomed always to speak the truth, that naked words might have the strength of an oath.* And elsewhere he saith, *It is more agreeable to natural reason altogether to abstain from swearing;* persuading, *That whatsoever a good man saith may be equivalent with an oath.*

Oaths abrogated by Christ.

Who then needs further to doubt, but that since Christ would have his disciples attain the highest pitch of perfection, he abrogated *oaths*, as a rudiment of infirmity, and in place thereof established the use of *truth?* Who can now any more think that the *holy martyrs* and *ancient fathers* of the first three hundred years, and many others since that time, have so opposed themselves to *oaths*, that they might only rebuke vain and rash *oaths* by the creatures, or heathen idols, which were also prohibited under the *mosaical law;* and not also *swearing* by the true God, in truth and righteousness, which was there commanded? as *Polycarpus*, *Justin Martyr*, Apolog. 2. and many *martyrs*, as *Eusebius* relates. *Tertullian*, in his Apol. cap. 32. ad *Scap.* cap. 1. of Idolatry, cap. 11. *Clem. Alexandrinus*, Strom. lib. 7. *Origen*,

in Mat. Tract. 25. *Cyprianus*, lib. 3. *Athanasius*, in pass. & cruc. Domini Christi. *Hilarius* in Mat. v. 34. *Basilius Magn.* in Psalm xiv. *Greg. Nyssenus* in Cant. Orat. 13. *Greg. Nazianzenus* in dialog. contra juramenta. *Epiphanius* adversus heres. lib. 1. *Ambros.* de. Virg. lib. 3. Idem in Mat. v. *Crysostom* in Genes. homil. 15. Idem homil. in Act. Apost. cap. 3. *Hieronimus* Epistol. lib. part 3. Ep. 2. Idem in Zech. lib. 2. cap. 8. Idem in Mat. lib. 1. cap. 5. *Augustinus* de serm. Dom. serm. 28. *Cyrillus* in Jer. iv. *Theodoretus* in Deut. vi. *Isidorus Pelusiota* Ep. lib. 1. Epist. 155. *Chromatius* in Mat. v. *Johannes Damascenus*, lib. 3. cap. 16. *Cassiodorus* in Psalm xciv. *Isidorus Hispalensis*, cap. 31. *Antiochus* in Pandect. script. hom. 62. *Beda* in Jac. v. *Haimo* in Apoc. *Ambrosius Ansbertus* in Apoc. *Theophylactus* in Mat. v. *Paschasius Radbertus* in Mat. v. *Otho Brunsfelsius* in Mat. v. *Druthmarus* in Mat. v. *Euthymius Eugubinus* Bibliotheca vet. patr. in Mat. v. *Œcumenius* in Jac. cap. v. ver. 12. *Anselmus* in Mat. v. the *Waldenses*, *Wickliff*, *Erasmus*, in Mat. v. and in Jac. v. Who can read these places and doubt of their sense in this matter? And who, believing that they were against all *oaths*, can bring so great an indignity to the name of Christ, as to seek to subject again his followers to so great an indignity? Is it not rather time that all good men should labour to remove this abuse and infamy from *Christians?*

The testimonies of the fathers against oaths and swearing.

Lastly, They object, *This will bring in fraud and confusion; for impostors will counterfeit probity, and under the benefit of this dispensation will lie without fear of punishment.*

Object

I answer, There are two things which oblige a man to speak the truth: *First*, Either the fear of God in his heart, and love of truth; for where this is, there is no need of *oaths* to speak the truth; or, *Secondly*, The fear of punishment from the judge.

Answ.

The punishment of liars.

Therefore let there be the same, or rather greater punishment appointed to those who pretend so great truth in words, and so great simplicity in heart that they cannot lie, and so great reverence towards the law of Christ, that for conscience' sake they deny to *swear* in any wise, if they fail; and so there shall be the same good order, yea, greater security against deceivers, as if *oaths* were continued; and also, by that more severe punishment, to which these false dissemblers shall be liable. Hence wicked men shall be more terrified, and good men delivered from all oppression, both in their liberty and goods: for which respect to tender *consciences*, God hath often a regard to magistrates and their state, as a thing most acceptable to him. But if any can further doubt of this thing, to wit, if without confusion it can be practised in the commonwealth, let him consider the state of the *United Netherlands*, and he shall see the good effect of it: for there, because of the great number of merchants more than in any other place, there is most frequent occasion for this thing; and though the number of those that are of this mind be considerable, to whom the states these hundred years have condescended, and yet daily condescend, yet nevertheless there has nothing of prejudice followed thereupon to the commonwealth, government, or good order; but rather great advantage to *trade*, and so to the commonwealth.

The United Netherlands instanced.

§. XIII. Sixthly, The last thing to be considered, is *revenge* and *war*, an evil as opposite and contrary to the Spirit and doctrine of Christ as *light* to *darkness*. For, as is manifest by what is said, through contempt of Christ's law the whole world is filled with various *oaths*, *cursings*, *blasphemous profanations*, and *horrid perjuries;* so likewise, through contempt of the same law, the world is

filled with *violence*, *oppression*, *murders*, *ravishing of women* and *virgins*, *spoilings*, *depredations*, *burnings*, *devastations*, and all manner of *lasciviousness* and *cruelty:* so that it is strange that men, made after the image of God, should have so much degenerated, that they rather bear the image and nature of roaring lions, tearing tigers, devouring wolves, and raging boars, than of rational creatures endued with reason. And is it not yet much more admirable, that this *horrid monster* should find place, and be fomented, among those men that profess themselves *disciples* of our *peaceable Lord* and *master* Jesus Christ, who by *excellency* is called the *Prince of Peace*, and hath expressly prohibited his children *all* violence; and on the contrary, commanded them, that, according to his example, they should follow patience, charity, forbearance, and other virtues worthy of a Christian?

Revenge and war contrary to Christ.

Hear then what this great prophet saith, whom every soul is commanded to hear, under the pain of being cut off, *Mat.* v. from verse 38. to the end of the chapter. For thus he saith: *Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee; and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away. Ye have heard that it has been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven. For he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the*

Revenge forbidden by Christ

good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the Publicans *the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do you more than* others? *Do not even the* Publicans *so? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.*

The law of Christ more perfect than that of Moses.

These words, with respect to *revenge*, as the former in the case of *swearing*, do forbid some things, which in time past were lawful to the *Jews*, considering their condition and dispensation; and command unto such as will be the disciples of Christ, a more perfect, eminent, and full signification of charity, as also patience and suffering, than was required of them in that time, state, and dispensation by the law of *Moses*. This is not only the judgment of most, if not all, the *ancient fathers*, so called, of the first three hundred years after Christ, but also of many others, and in general of all those who have rightly understood and propagated the law of Christ concerning *swearing*, as appears from *Justin Martyr* in Dialog. cum Tryph. ejusdemque Apolog. 2. Item ad Zenam. *Tertul.* de Corona Militis. It. Apolog. cap. 21. and 37. It. lib. de Idolol. cap. 17, 18, 19. It. ad Scapulam. cap. 1. It. adversus Jud. cap. 7, and 9. It. adv. Gnost. cap. 13. It. ad Marc. cap. 4. It. lib. de Patientia c. 6, 10. *Orig.* cont. Celsum, lib. 3, 5, 8. It. in Josuam hom. 12. cap. 9. It. in Mat. cap. 26. Tract. 35. *Cyp.* Epist. 56. It. ad Cornel. Lactan. de just. lib. 5. c. 18. lib. 6. c. 20. *Ambr.* in Luc. xxii. *Chrysost.* in Mat. v. hom. 18. It. in Mat. xxvi. hom. 85. It. lib. 2. de Sacerdotio. It. in 1 Cor. xiii. *Chromat.* in Mat. v. *Hierom.* ad Ocean. It. lib. Epist. p. 3. Tom. 1. Ep. 2. *Athan.* de Inc. Verb. Dei. *Cyrill. Alex.* lib. 11. in Johan. cap. xxv. 26. Yea, *Augustine*, although he vary much in this matter, notwithstanding in these places he did condemn *fighting*, Epist. 158, 159, 160. It. ad Judices,

Testimonies of the fathers against fighting.

Epist. 203. It. ad Darium, & lib. 21. It. ad Faustum. cap. 76. lib. 22. de Civit. ad Marc. cap. 6. as *Sylburgius* relates. *Euthym.* in Mat. xxvi. and many others of this age. *Erasmus* in Luc. cap. 3. & 22. *Ludov. Vives* in Introduc. ad Sap. *J. Ferus*, lib. 4. Comment. in Mat. vii. & Luc. xxii.

The laws of Christ in the New Testament are irreconcileable to persecution, wars, & fighting.

From hence it appears, that there is so great a connexion betwixt these two precepts of *Christ*, that as they were uttered and commanded by him at one and the same time, so the same way they were received by men of all ages, not only in the first promulgation by the little number of the disciples, but also after the Christians increased in the first three hundred years. Even so in the *apostacy*, the one was not left and rejected without the other; and now again in the *restitution*, and renewed preaching of the *eternal gospel*, they are acknowledged as eternal and unchangeable laws, properly belonging to the *evangelical state* and *perfection* thereof; from which if any withdraw, he falls short of the perfection of a *Christian man*.

And truly the words are so clear in themselves, that, in my judgment, they need no illustration to explain their sense: for it is as easy to reconcile the greatest contradictions, as these laws of our Lord Jesus Christ with the wicked practices of *wars;* for they are plainly inconsistent. Whoever can reconcile this, *Resist not evil*, with *resist violence by force;* again, *Give also thy other cheek*, with *strike again;* also *Love thine enemies*, with *spoil them, make a prey of them, pursue them with fire and sword;* or, *Pray for those that persecute you, and those that calumniate you*, with *persecute them by fines, imprisonments, and death itself;* and not only such as do not *persecute you*, but *who heartily seek and desire your eternal and temporal welfare:* whoever, I say, can find a means to reconcile these things, may be supposed also to have found a way to reconcile *God* with

the *devil*, *Christ* with *Antichrist*, *light* with *darkness*, and *good* with *evil*. But if this be impossible, as indeed it is, so will also the other be impossible; and men do but deceive themselves and others, while they boldly adventure to establish such absurd and impossible things.

§. XIV. Nevertheless because some, perhaps through *inadvertency*, and by the force of *custom* and *tradition*, do transgress this *command of Christ*, I shall briefly show how much *war* doth contradict this precept, and how much they are inconsistent with one another; and consequently, that *war is no ways lawful to such as will be the disciples of Christ*. For,

Mat. v. 43. First, Christ commands, That *we should love our enemies;* but war, on the contrary, teacheth us to hate and destroy them.

Eph. vi. 12 Secondly, The apostle saith, That *we war not after the flesh*, and that *we fight not with flesh and blood;* but outward war is according to the flesh, and against flesh and blood; for the shedding of the one, and destroying of the other.

1 Cor. x. 4. Thirdly, The apostle saith, That *the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual;* but the weapons of outward warfare are carnal, such as cannon, muskets, spears, swords, &c. of which there is no mention in the armour described by *Paul*.

James iv. 1. Gal. v. 24. Fourthly, Because *James* testifies, That *wars and strifes come from the lusts, which war in the members of carnal men;* but Christians, that is, those that are truly saints, *have crucified the flesh, with its affections and lusts;* therefore they cannot indulge them by waging war.

Isa. ii. 4. Mic. iv. 3. Fifthly, Because the prophets *Isaiah* and *Micah* have expressly prophesied, That *in the mountain of the house of the Lord, Christ shall judge the nations*, and then *they shall beat their swords into plough-*

shares, &c. And the *ancient fathers* of the first three hundred years after Christ did affirm these prophecies to be fulfilled in the Christians of their times, who were most averse from *war;* concerning which *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and others may be seen: which need not seem strange to any, since *Philo Judæus* abundantly testifies of the *Essenes*, That *there was none found among them that would make instruments of war.* But how much more did Jesus come, *that he might keep his followers from fighting, and might bring them to patience and charity?*

Primitive Christians most averse from war.

Sixthly, Because the prophet foretold, That *there should none hurt nor kill in all the holy mountain of the Lord;* but outward war is appointed for killing and destroying.

Isa. lxv. 24.

Seventhly, Because Christ said, That *his kingdom is not of this world*, and therefore that *his servants shall not fight;* therefore those that fight *are not his disciples nor servants.*

John xviii. 46.

Eighthly, Because he reproved *Peter* for the use of the sword saying, *Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword.* Concerning which *Tertullian* speaks well, lib. de Idol. *How shall he fight in peace without a sword, which the Lord did take away? For although soldiers came to* John, *and received a form of observation; if also the centurion believed afterwards, he disarmed every soldier in disarming of* Peter. Idem. de *Coron. Mil.* asketh, *Shall it be lawful to use the sword, the Lord saying, That he that useth the sword, shall perish by the sword?*

Mat. xxvi. 52.

Ninthly, Because the apostle admonisheth Christians, *That they defend not themselves, neither revenge by rendering evil for evil; but give place unto wrath, because vengeance is the Lord's. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink.* But war

Rom. xii. 19.

throughout teacheth and enjoineth the quite contrary.

Mark viii. 34.

Tenthly, Because *Christ calls his children to bear his cross, not to crucify or kill others;* to *patience*, not to *revenge;* to *truth and simplicity*, not to *fraudulent stratagems of war*, or to *play the sycophant*, which *John* himself forbids; to *flee the glory of this world*, not to *acquire it by warlike endeavours;* therefore war is altogether contrary unto the law and Spirit of Christ.

Obj. 4.

§. XV. But they object, *That it is lawful to war, because* Abraham *did war before the giving of the law, and the* Israelites *after the giving of the law.*

Answ.

I answer as before, 1. That *Abraham* offered sacrifices at that time, and circumcised the males; which nevertheless are not lawful for us under the gospel.

Israelites going to war inquired of the oracle of God.

2. That neither defensive nor offensive war was lawful to the *Israelites* of their own will, or by their own counsel or conduct; but they were obliged at all times, if they would be successful, first to inquire of the *oracle of God.*

3. That their wars against the wicked nations were a figure of the inward war of the true Christians against their spiritual enemies, in which we overcome the devil, the world, and the flesh.

Some things permitted in the Old Testament because of hardness of heart.

4. Something is expressly forbidden by Christ, *Mat.* v. 38, &c. which was granted to the *Jews* in their time, because of their hardness; and on the contrary, we are commanded that singular patience and exercise of love which *Moses* commanded not to his disciples. From whence *Tertullian* saith well against *Marc. Christ truly teacheth a new patience, even forbidding the revenge of an injury, which was permitted by the Creator.* And lib. de patien. *The law finds more than it lost, by Christ's saying, Love your enemies.* And in the time of *Clem. Alex.* Christians were so far from wars, that he

testified that they had no marks or signs of violence among them, saying, *Neither are the faces of idols to be painted, to which so much as to regard is forbidden: neither sword nor bow to them that follow peace; nor cups to them who are moderate and temperate,* as Sylvius Disc. de Rev. Belg.

Secondly, They object, *That defence is of natural right, and that religion destroys not nature.* Object.

I answer, Be it so; but to obey God, and commend ourselves to him in faith and patience, is not to destroy nature, but to exalt and perfect it; to wit, to elevate it from the natural to the supernatural life, by Christ living therein, and comforting it, that it may do all things, and be rendered more than conqueror. Answ.

Thirdly, They object, *That* John *did not abrogate or condemn* war, *when the soldiers came unto him.* Object.

I answer, What then? The question is not concerning *John's* doctrine, but *Christ's*, whose disciples we are, not *John's:* for *Christ*, and not *John*, is that prophet whom we ought all to hear. And although Christ said, *That a greater than* John *the baptist was not among men born of women*, yet he adds, *That the least in the kingdom of God is greater than he.* Answ. Luke vii. 28.
But what was *John's* answer, that we may see if it can justify the soldiers of this time? For if it be narrowly observed, it will appear, that what he proposeth to soldiers doth manifestly forbid them that employment; for he commands them *not to do violence to any man, nor to defraud any man;* but that they *be content with their wages.* Consider then what he dischargeth to soldiers, *viz.* Not to use violence or deceit against any; which being removed, let any tell how soldiers can war? For are not *craft, violence*, and *injustice*, three properties of *war*, and the natural consequences of *battles?* Luke iii. 14.

Fourthly, They object, *That* Cornelius, *and that centurion of whom there is mention made* Mat. viii. 5. Object.

were soldiers, and there is no mention that they laid down their military employments.

Answ. I answer, Neither read we that they continued in them. But it is most probable that if they continued in the doctrine of Christ, (and we read not any where of their falling from the faith,) that they did not continue in them; especially if we consider, that two or three ages afterwards *Christians* altogether rejected war, or at least a long while after that time, if the emperor *Marc. Aurel. Anton.* be to be credited, who writes thus:—*I prayed to my country gods; but when I was neglected by them, and observed myself pressed by the enemy, considering the fewness of my forces, I called to one, and entreated those who with us are called* Christians, *and I found a great number of them; and I forced them with threats, which ought not to have been, because afterwards I knew their strength and force:* therefore they betook themselves neither to the use of darts nor trumpets, *for they use not so to do, for the cause and name of their God, which they bear in their consciences:* and this was done about an hundred and sixty years after Christ. To this add those words, which in *Justin Martyr* the Christians answer, ὃ πολεμοῦμεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, that is, *We fight not with our enemies.* And moreover the answer of *Martin* to *Julian* the apostate, related by *Sulpitius Severus, I am a soldier of Christ, therefore I cannot fight;* which was three hundred years after *Christ.* It is not therefore probable that they continued in warlike employments. How then are *Vincentius Lyrinensis* and the *Papists* consistent with their maxim, *That which always, every where, and by all was received, &c.* And what becomes of the *priests*, with their oath, *That they neither ought nor will interpret the scripture but according to the universal consent of the fathers*, so called? *For it is as easy to obscure the sun at mid-day, as to deny that the* primitive Christians *renounced all revenge and war.*

Christians instanced that did not war.

And although this thing be so much known, yet it is as well known that almost all the modern sects live in the neglect and contempt of this law of Christ, and likewise oppress others, who in this agree not with them for conscience' sake towards God: even as we have suffered much in our country, because *we neither could ourselves bear arms, nor send others in our place, nor give our money for the buying of drums, standards, and other military attire.* And lastly, *Because we could not hold our doors, windows, and shops close, for conscience' sake, upon such days as fasts and prayers were appointed, to desire a blessing upon, and success for, the arms of the kingdom or commonwealth under which we live; neither give thanks for the victories acquired by the effusion of much blood.* By which forcing of the conscience, they would have constrained our brethren, living in divers kingdoms at war together, to have implored our God for contrary and contradictory things, and consequently impossible; for it is impossible that two parties fighting together, should both obtain the victory. And because we cannot concur with them in this confusion, therefore we are subject to *persecution.* Yea, and others, who with us do witness that the use of arms is unlawful to *Christians*, do look asquint upon us: but which of us two do most faithfully observe this testimony against arms? Either they, who at certain times, at the magistrate's order, do close up their shops and houses, and meet in their assembly, praying for the prosperity of their arms, or giving thanks for some victory or other, whereby they make themselves like to those that approve wars and fighting; or we, who cannot do these things for the same cause of conscience, lest we should destroy, by our works, what we establish in words, we shall leave to the judgment of all prudent men.

Persecution for not bearing arms, and not fasting & praying for victory.

Object. Fifthly, They object, *That Christ*, Luke xxii. 36. *speaking to his disciples, commands them, That he that then had not a sword, should sell his coat, and buy a sword; therefore*, say they, *arms are lawful.*

Answ. I answer, Some indeed understand this of the *outward sword*, nevertheless regarding only that occasion; otherwise judging, that Christians are prohibited wars under the gospel. Among which is *Ambrose*, who upon this place speaks thus: *O Lord! why commandest thou me to buy a sword, who forbiddest me to smite with it? Why commandest thou me to have it, whom thou prohibitest to draw it? Unless perhaps a defence be prepared, not a necessary revenge; and that I may seem to have been able to revenge, but that I would not. For the law forbids me to smite again; and therefore perhaps he said to* Peter, *offering two swords*, [It is enough,] *as if it had been lawful until the gospel-times, that in the law there might be a learning of equity, but in the gospel a perfection of goodness.* Others judge Christ to have spoken here mystically, and not according to the letter; as *Origen* upon *Mat.* xix. saying, *If any looking to the letter and not understanding the will of the words, shall sell his bodily garment, and buy a sword, taking the words of Christ contrary to his will, he shall perish; but concerning which sword he speaks, is not proper here to mention.* And truly when we consider the answer of the disciples, *Master, behold here are two swords;* understanding it of outward swords; and again Christ's answer, *It is enough;* it seems that Christ would not that the rest, who had not swords, (for they had only two swords,) should sell their coats, and buy an outward sword. Who can think that, matters standing thus, he should have said, *Two were enough?* But however, it is sufficient that the use of arms is unlawful under the gospel.

Peter offered two swords.

Object. Sixthly, They object, *That the scriptures and old fathers*, so called, *did only prohibit private revenge,*

not the use of arms for the defence of our country, body, wives, children, and goods, when the magistrate commands it, seeing the magistrate ought to be obeyed; therefore although it be not lawful for private men to do it of themselves, nevertheless they are bound to do it by the command of the magistrate.

Answ. Christian magistrates ought to obey the command of their master Christ.

I answer, If the magistrate be truly a Christian, or desires to be so, he ought himself, in the first place, to obey the command of his master, saying, *Love your enemies, &c.* and then he could not command us to kill them; but if he be not a true Christian, then ought we to obey our *Lord* and *King, Jesus Christ*, whom he ought also to obey: for in the kingdom of Christ all ought to submit to his laws, from the highest to the lowest, that is, from the *king* to the *beggar*, and from *Cæsar* to the *Clown*. But alas! where shall we find such an obedience? O desperate fall! concerning which *Ludov. Viv.* writes well, *lib. de con. vit. Christ. sub. Turc.* by relation of *Fredericus Sylvius*, Disc. de Revol. *Belg.* p. 85. *The prince entered into the church, not as a true and plain Christian, which had indeed been most happy and desirable; but he brought in with him his nobility, his honours, his ARMS, his ensigns, his triumphs, his haughtiness, his pride, his superciliousness;* that is, *he came into the house of Christ, accompanied with the devil; and which could no ways be done, he would have joined two houses and two cities together, God's and the devil's, which could no more be done than* Rome *and* Constantinople, *which are distant by so long a tract both of sea and land.* (What communion, *saith* Paul, is there betwixt Christ and Belial?) *Their zeal cooled by degrees, their faith decreased, their whole piety degenerated; instead* whereof *we make now use of shadows and images, and,* as he saith, *I would we could but retain these.* Thus far *Vives.* But lastly, as to what relates to this thing, since nothing seems more contrary to man's nature, and seeing of all things

Lud. Vives against arms.

the defence of one's self seems most tolerable, as it is most hard to men, so it is the most perfect part of the Christian religion, as that wherein the *denial of self* and *entire confidence in God* doth most appear; and therefore Christ and his apostles left us hereof a most perfect example. As to what relates to the present magistrates of the *Christian world*, albeit we deny them not altogether the name of *Christians*, because of the public profession they make of *Christ's name*, yet we may boldly affirm, that they are far from the perfection of the *Christian religion;* because in the state in which they are, (as in many places before I have largely observed,) they have not come to the pure dispensation of the gospel. And therefore, while they are in that condition, we shall not say, That *war*, undertaken upon a just occasion, is altogether unlawful to them. For even as circumcision and the other ceremonies were for a season permitted to the *Jews*, not because they were either necessary of themselves, or lawful at that time, after the resurrection of Christ, but because that Spirit was not yet raised up in them, whereby they could be delivered from such rudiments; so the present confessors of the *Christian name*, who are yet in the mixture, and not in the patient suffering spirit, are not yet fitted for this form of Christianity, and therefore cannot be undefending themselves until they attain that perfection. But for such whom Christ has brought hither, it is not lawful to defend themselves by *arms*, but they ought over all to trust to the Lord.

Concerning the present magistrates of the Christian world.

The conclusion.

§. XVI. But Lastly, to conclude, If to give and receive flattering titles, which are not used because of the virtues inherent in the persons, but are for the most part bestowed by wicked men upon such as themselves; if to bow, scrape, and cringe to one another; if at every time to call themselves

each other's *humble servant*, and that most frequently without any design of real service; if this be the honour that comes from God, and not the honour that is from below, then indeed our adversaries may be said to be believers, and we condemned as proud and stubborn, in denying all these things.

But if with *Mordecai*, to refuse to bow to proud *Haman*, and with *Elihu* not to give *flattering titles to men, lest we should be reproved of our Maker;* and if, according to *Peter's* example and the angel's advice, to bow only to God, and not to our fellow servants; and if to call no man *lord* nor *master*, except under particular relations, according to Christ's command; I say, if these things are not to be reproved, then are we not blameworthy in so doing. Est. iii. 5. Job xxxii. 21, 22.

If to be vain and gaudy in apparel; if to paint the face and plait the hair; if to be clothed with gold and silver, and precious stones; and if to be filled with ribbons and lace be to be clothed in modest apparel; and if these be the ornaments of Christians; and if that be to be humble, meek, and mortified, then are our adversaries good Christians indeed, and we proud, singular, and conceited, in contenting ourselves with what need and conveniency calls for, and condemning what is more as superfluous; but not otherwise.

If to use games, sports, plays; if to card, dice, and dance; if to sing, fiddle, and pipe; if to use stage-plays and comedies, and to lie, counterfeit, and dissemble, be to fear always; and if that be to do all things to the glory of God; and if that be to pass our sojourning here in fear; and if that be to use this world as if we did not use it; and if that be not to fashion ourselves according to our former lusts; to be not conformable to the spirit and vain conversation of this world; then are our adversaries, notwithstanding they use these things, and plead for them, very good, sober, mortified,

and self-denying Christians, and we justly to be blamed for judging them; but not otherwise.

If the profanation of the holy name of God; if to exact oaths one from another upon every light occasion; if to call God to witness in things of such a nature, in which no earthly king would think himself lawfully and honourably to be a witness, be the duties of a Christian man, I shall confess that our adversaries are excellent good Christians, and we wanting in our duty: but if the contrary be true, of necessity our obedience to God in this thing must be acceptable.

If to revenge ourselves, or to render injury, evil for evil, wound for wound, to take eye for eye, tooth for tooth; if to fight for outward and perishing things, to go a warring one against another, whom we never saw, nor with whom we never had any contest, nor any thing to do; being moreover altogether ignorant of the cause of the war, but only that the magistrates of the nations foment quarrels one against another, the causes whereof are for the most part unknown to the soldiers that fight, as well as upon whose side the right or wrong is; and yet to be so furious, and rage one against another, to destroy and spoil all, that this or the other worship may be received or abolished; if to do this, and much more of this kind, be to fulfil the law of Christ, then are our adversaries indeed true *Christians*, and we miserable *Heretics*, that suffer ourselves to be spoiled, taken, imprisoned, banished, beaten, and evilly entreated, without any resistance, *placing our trust only in GOD*, that he may defend us, and lead us by the way of the *Cross* unto his *kingdom*. But if it be otherways, we shall certainly receive the *reward* which the Lord hath promised to those that *cleave to him*, and, in denying themselves, *confide in him*.

And to sum up all, if to use all these things, and many more that might be instanced, be to *walk in the straight way that leads to life*, be to *take up the Cross of Christ*, be to *die with him to the lusts and perishing vanities of this world*, and to *arise with him in newness of life*, and *sit down with him in the heavenly places*, then our adversaries may be accounted such, and they need not fear they are in the *broad way that leads to destruction*, and we are greatly mistaken, that have laid aside all these things for Christ's sake, to the crucifying of our own lusts, and to the procuring to ourselves shame, reproach, hatred, and ill-will from the men of this world: not as if by so doing we judged to merit heaven, but as knowing they are contrary to the will of Him who redeems his children from the love of this world, and its lusts, and leads them in the ways of *truth* and *holiness*, in which they take delight to walk.

THE CONCLUSION.

If in God's fear, *candid reader*, thou appliest thyself to consider this system of religion here delivered, with its consistency and harmony, as well in itself as with the scriptures of truth, I doubt not but thou wilt say with me and many more, that this is the spiritual day of Christ's appearance, wherein he is again revealing the ancient paths of truth and righteousness. For thou mayest observe here the *Christian religion* in all its parts truly established and vindicated, as it is a living, inward, spiritual, pure and substantial thing, and not a mere form, show, shadow, notion, and opinion, as too many have hitherto held it, whose fruits declare they wanted that which they bear the name of; and yet many of those are so in love with their empty forms and shadows, that they cease not to calumniate us for commending and calling them to the substance, as if we therefore denied or neglected the true form and outward part of Christianity, which indeed is, as God the searcher of hearts knows, a very great slander. Thus, because we have desired people earnestly to feel after God *near* and *in themselves*, telling them that their notions of God, as he is beyond the clouds, will little avail them, if they do not feel him near; hence they have sought maliciously to infer that we deny any God except that which is within us. Because we tell people, that it is the *light* and *law within*, and not the *letter without*, that can truly tell them their condition, and lead them out of all evil; hence they say, we vilify the scriptures, and set up our own imaginations above them. Because we tell them, that it is not their

talking or believing of Christ's outward life, sufferings, death, and resurrection, no more than the *Jews* crying, *the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord*, that will serve their turn, or justify them in the sight of God; but that they must know *Christ in them*, whom they have crucified, to be raised, and to justify them, and redeem them from their iniquities: hence they say, we deny the life, death, and sufferings of Christ, justification by his blood, and remission of sins through him. Because we tell them, while they are talking and determining about the *resurrection*, that they have more need to know the *Just One*, whom they have slain, *raised in themselves*, and to be sure they are partakers of the *first resurrection;* and that if this be, they will be the more capable to judge of the *second:* hence they say, that we deny the resurrection of the body. Because when we hear them talk foolishly of heaven and hell, and the last judgment, we exhort them to come out of the hellish condition they are in, and come down to the judgment of Christ *in their own hearts*, and believe in the light, and follow it, that so they may come to sit in the heavenly places that are in Christ Jesus: hence they maliciously say, that we deny any heaven or hell but that which is within us, and that we deny any general judgment; which *slanders* the Lord knows are foully cast upon us, whom God hath raised for this end, and gathered us, that by us he might confound the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nought the understanding of the prudent; and might, in and by his own Spirit and power in a despised people, (that no flesh might glory in his presence,) pull down that dead, dark, corrupt image, and mere shadow and shell of Christianity wherewith Antichrist hath deceived the nations: for which end he hath called us to be a first-fruits of those that serve him, and worship him no more in the oldness of the letter, but in the newness of

the Spirit. And though we be few in number, in respect of others, and weak as to outward strength, which we also altogether reject, and foolish if compared with the wise ones of this world; yet as God hath prospered us, notwithstanding much opposition, so will he yet do, that neither the art, wisdom, nor violence of men or devils shall be able to quench that *little spark* that hath appeared; but it shall grow to the consuming of whatsoever shall stand up to oppose it. The *mouth of the Lord* hath spoken it! yea, he that hath arisen in a small remnant shall arise and go on by the same arm of power in his spiritual manifestation, until he hath conquered all his enemies, until all the kingdoms of the earth become the kingdom of Christ Jesus.

Unto Him that hath begun this work, not among the rich and great ones, but among the poor and small, and hath revealed it not to the wise and learned, but unto the poor, unto babes and sucklings; even to him, the Only-wise and Omnipotent GOD, be Honour, Glory, Thanksgiving, and Renown, from henceforth and for ever. Amen. Hallelu-JAH.

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